13

THE COPIES OF CERTAINE LETTERS WHICH HAVE passed betweene SPAINE and ENGLAND *in matter of* RELIGION.

(13)

Concerning the generall Motiues to the Romane obedience.

Betweene Master IAMES WADESWORTH, *a late Pensioner of the Holy Inquisition in* Siuill, and W. BEDELL a Minister of *the Gospell of Iesus Christ in* SVFFOLKE.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby* for *William Barret* and *Robert Milburne.* 1624.

TO

THE MOST HIGH AND EX-CELLENT PRINCE, PRINCE CHARLES.

I Should labour much in my excuſe, euen to mine owne iudgement, of the higheſt boldneſſe, in daring to preſent theſe Papers to your Highnes, if there were not ſome releeuing circumſtances, that giue mee hope, it ſhall not be diſagreeable to your higher goodneſſe. There is nothing can ſee the light, which hath the name of Spaine in it, which ſeemes

not now properly yours, euer ſince it pleaſed you to honor that Countrie with your preſence. And thoſe very Motiues to the Romane obedience, which had beene repreſented vnto you there, in caſe you had giuen way to the propounding them, are in theſe Letters charitably and calmly examined. Betweene a couple of friends, bred in the ſame Colledge (that of the foundation of Sir WALTER MILDMAY of bleſſed memorie, whom with honor and thankfulneſſe I name) choſen his Schollers at the ſame election, lodged in the ſame Chamber, after Miniſters in the ſame Dioceſſe. And that they might bee matchable abroad as well as at home, attendants in the ſame ranke as Chaplaines, on two Honorable Ambaſſadors of the Majeſtie of the King your Father in forraine parts; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Spaine*. Where, one of them hauing changed his profeſſion, and receiued a penſion out of the holy Inquiſition houſe, and drawne his wife and children thither, was lately often in the eyes of your Highneſſe: very ioyfull I ſuppoſe to ſee you there, not more I am ſure, then

then the other was ſolicitous to miſſe you here. Theſe paſſages betweene vs I haue hitherto forborn to divulge, out of the hope of further anſwer from Maſter *Wadeſworth* according to his promiſe; though ſince the receipt of my laſt (being ſilent to my ſelfe) he excuſed him in ſundrie his Letters to others by his lack of health. Nor ſhould I haue changed my reſolution, but that I vnderſtand that preſently after your Highneſſe departure from Spaine, hee departed this life. Which newes though it grieue me as it ought in reſpect of the loſſe of my friend, yet it ſomewhat contenteth me, not to haue beene lacking in my endeauour, to the vndeceiuing a well-meaning man touching the ſtate of our differences in Religion; nor as I hope to haue ſcandalized him in the manner of handling them. And conceiuing theſe Copies may be of ſome publike vſe, the more being lifted vp aboue their owne meanneſſe by ſo high patronage, I haue aduentured to prefixe your Highneſſe name before them. Humbly beſeeching the ſame, that if theſe reaſons be too weake to beare vp the preſumption of this Dedication,

tion, it may bee charged vpon the ſtrong deſire ſome way to expreſſe the vnſpeakeable joy for your Highneſſe happy returne into England, of one amongſt many thouſands,

Of your Highneſſe
moſt humble
and deuoted
ſeruants

W. BEDELL.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

1. A *Letter of Maſter* Wadeſworth, *contayning his Motiues to the Romane obedience. Dated at Seuill in Spaine, April* 1. 1615. *printed as all the reſt out of his owne hand-writing.* *pag.* 1.

2. *Another Letter from him requiring anſwere to the former, from Madrid in Spaine, April* 14. 1619. *pag.* 16.

3. *The anſwere to the laſt Letter, Dated Aug.* 5. 1619. *pag.* 17.

4. *A Letter from Maſter* Wadeſworth *vpon the receipt of the former. From Madrid. Dated Oct.* 28. 1619. *receiued May* 23. 1620. *pag.* 23.

5. *The anſwere to the laſt Letter. Iune* 15. 1620. *pag.* 25.

6. *A Letter from Maſter* Wadeſworth, *from Madrid, Iune* 8. 1620. *pag.* 29.

7. *A Letter of Maſter Doctor* Halls *ſent to Maſter* Wadeſworth, *and returned into England with his marginall notes.* *pag.* 30.

8. *A Letter returning it incloſed to Maſter Doctor* Hall. *pag.* 36.

9. *A Letter ſent to Maſter* Wadeſworth, *together with the Examination of his Motiues. Octob.* 22. 1620. *pag.* 36.

10. *The Examination of the Motiues in the firſt Letter.* pag. 39.

The heads of the Motiues reduced vnto twelue Chapters, anſwering vnto the like figures in the Margint of the firſt of Maſter WADESWORTHS Letters.

Chap. I. *OF the Preamble. The Titles Catholike, Papiſt, Traytor, Idolater. The vniformitie of Faith in Proteſtant Religion.* pag. 39.

Chap. II. *Of the contrarietie of Sects pretended to be amongſt Reformers. Their differences, how matters of Faith. Of each pretending Scripture, and the holy Ghoſt.* pag. 44.

Chap. III. *Of the want of a humane externall infallible Iudge and Interpreter. The obiections anſwered. Firſt, that Scriptures are oft matter of controuerſie. Secondly, that they are the Law and Rule. Thirdly, that Princes are no Iudges: Fourthly, nor a whole Councell of Reformers. The Popes being the Iudge and Interpreter ouerthrown by reaſons; And by his palpable miſſe-interpreting the Scriptures in his Decretals. The ſtyle of his Court. His Breues about the Oath of allegeance.* p. 50.

Chap. IIII. *Of the ſtate of the Church of England, and whether it may be reconciled with Rome. Whether the Pope be Antichriſt,* PAVLO V. VICE-DEO, OVR LORD GOD THE POPE: *the Relation* de moderandis titulis, *with the iſſue of it.* pag. 72.

Chap. V. *Of the ſafeneſſe to ioyne to the Romane being confeſſed*

feſſed a true Church by her Oppoſites. Maſter P. Wottons *peruerſion printed at Venice. The badge of Chriſts ſheepe.* *pag.* 82.

Of fraud and corruption in alledging Councels, Fathers, and Doctors. The falſifications imputed to Morney, *Biſhop* Iewell, *Maſter* Fox, Tyndals *Teſtament:* Parſons *foure falſhoods in ſeuen lines. A taſte of the forgeries of the Papacy. In the ancient Popes Epiſtles,* Conſtantines *Donation,* Gratian; *The Schoolemen and Breuiaries by the complaint of the Venetian Diuines. The Fathers not vntoucht. Nor the Hebrew Text.* *pag.* 91. Chap. VI.

Of the Armies of euident witneſſes for the Romaniſts. Whence it ſeemes ſo to the vnexpert Souldier. The cenſure of the Centuriſts touching the Doctrine of the Ancients. Danæus *of Saint* Auguſtines *opinion touching Purgatorie. An inſtance or two of Impoſture in wreſting* Tertullian, Cyprian, Auguſtine. *p.* 108. Chap. VII.

Of the inuiſibilitie of the Church ſaid to bee an euaſion of Proteſtants. The promiſes made to the Church, and her glorious Titles, how they are verified out of Saint Auguſtine; *falſly applied to the whole viſible Church, or repreſentatiue, or the Pope.* *pag.* 118. Chap. VIII.

Of lack of vniformitie in matters of Faith in all ages and places. What matters of Faith the Church holds vniformely; and ſo the Proteſtants. Of Wicliffe *and* Hus, *&c. whether they were Martyrs. p.* 120. Chap. IX.

Of the originall of Reformation in Luther, Caluin, *Scotland, England. Whether King* Henrie *the eight were a good head of the Church. Of the Reformers in France and Holland. The originall growth and ſupporting of the Popes Monarchie conſidered.* *pag.* 122. Chap. X.

The Contents.

Chap. XI. *Of lacke of Succeßion, Biſhops, true Ordinations, Orders, Prieſthood. The fabulous Ordination at the Nags-head examined. The Statute* 8. Elizabeth. *Boners ſleighting the firſt Parliament, and Doctor* Bancrofts *anſwere to Maſter* Alablaſter. *The forme of Prieſthood inquired of.* pag. 139.

Chap. XII. *Of the Concluſion. Maſter* Wadeſworths *agonies and proteſtation. The proteſtation and reſolution of the Author, and conceipt of Maſter* Wadeſworth, *and his attempt.* pag. 158.

CER-

The Copies of certaine Letters, which haue paſſed betweene *Spaine* and England *in matter of* RELIGION.

✠

Salutem in Crucifixo.

To the Worſhipfull my good friend Mr. WILLIAM BEDELL, &c.

Maſter Bedell,

MY very louing friend: After the old plaine faſhion, I ſalute you heartily, without any new fine complements or affected phraſes. And by my inquirie, vnderſtanding of this Bearer, that after your being at *Venice*, you had paſſed to *Conſtantinople*, and were returned to Saint *Edmundsbury*, in ſafetie and with health, I was exceeding glad thereof; for I wiſh you well as to my ſelfe: and hee telling mee further that to morrow, God willing, he was to depart from hence to imbarke for *England*, and offe-

ring me to deliuer my Letters if I would write vnto you, I could not omit by theſe haſtie ſcribled lines to ſignifie vnto you the continuance of my ſincere loue, neuer to be blotted out of my breſt (if you kill it not with vnkindneſſe like Maſter *Ioſeph Hall*) neither by diſtance of place, nor ſucceſſe of time, nor difference of Religion. For (contrarie to the ſlanders rayſed againſt all, becauſe of the offences committed by ſome) wee are not taught by our Catholike Religion, either to diminiſh our naturall obligation to our natiue Countrie, or to alter our morall affection to our former friends.

And although for my change becomming *Catholique*, I did expect of ſome Reuilers to be termed rather then prooued an *Apoſtata*, yet I neuer looked for ſuch termes from Maſter *Hall*, whom I eſteemed either my friend, or a modeſter man; whoſe flanting Epiſtle I haue not anſwered, becauſe I would not foile my hands with a Poeticall Rayler, more full with froth of Wordes then ſubſtance of Matter, and of whom according to his beginning, I could not expect any ſound Arguments but vaine Flouriſhes, and ſo much, I pray, let him know from me if you pleaſe.

Vnto your ſelfe, my good friend, who doe vnderſtand better then Maſter *Hall*, what the Doctors in Schooles doe account *Apoſtaſie*, and how it is more and worſe then *Hereſie*, I doe referre both him and my ſelfe, whether I might not more probably call him Heretike, then he terme me at the firſt daſh Apoſtata: but I would abſtaine from ſuch biting *Satyres*. And if he, or any other, will needes faſten vp-

on

on me ſuch bitter termes, let them firſt prooue that *in all points of faith I haue fallen totally from Chriſtian Religion*, as did *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*: For ſo is Apoſtaſie deſcribed and differenced from Hereſie. *Apoſtaſia eſt error, hominis baptizati, contrarius fidei Catholicæ ex toto*: and, *Hæreſis eſt error pertinax, hominis baptizati, contrarius fidei Catholicæ ex parte.* So that hee ſhould haue ſhewed, firſt, my errors in matters of Faith; not any error in other Queſtions, but in decreed *matters of Faith* (as Proteſtants vſe to ſay) *neceſſarie vnto ſaluation.* Secondly, that ſuch errors were maintayned with obſtinate *pertinacy*; and pertinacy is, where ſuch errors are defended *againſt the conſent and determination of the Catholike Church*; and alſo knowing that the whole Church teacheth the contrarie to ſuch opinions, yet will perſiſt in them: and yet further, if there bee any doubt, he muſt manifeſt vnto me which is the *Catholique Church.* Thirdly, to make it full *Apoſtaſie*, he ſhould haue conuinced mee to haue ſwarued and back-ſlidden (as you know the Greeke word ſignifies) like *Iulian* renouncing his baptiſme, and forſaken *totally all Chriſtian Religion*: a horrible imputation, though falſe, nor ſo eaſily prooued as declaymed: But I thanke God daily that I am become *Catholique*, as all our Anceſtors were till of late yeeres, and as the moſt of Chriſtendome ſtill be at this preſent day, with whom I had rather bee miſ-called *a Papiſt, a Traytor, an Apoſtata*, or *Idolater*, or what he will, then to remayne a *Proteſtant* with them ſtill. For in Proteſtant Religion I could neuer finde vniformitie of a ſettled faith, and ſo no quietneſſe of

conſcience, eſpecially for three or foure yeeres before my comming away, although by reading, ſtudying, praying, and conferring, I did moſt carefully and diligently labour to finde it among them.

II. But your contrarietie of Sects and opinions of *Lutherans*, *Zwinglians*, *Caluiniſts*, *Proteſtants*, *Puritans*, *Cartwrightiſts*, and *Browniſts*, ſome of them damning each other; many of them auouching their Poſitions to be *matters of Faith* (for if they made them but Schoole queſtions *of opinion* onely, they ſhould not ſo much haue diſquieted mee) and all theſe being ſo contrarie, yet euery one pretending Scriptures, and arrogating the Holy Ghoſt in his

III. fauor. And aboue all (which did moſt of all trouble me) about the deciding of theſe and all other Controuerſies which might ariſe, I could not finde among all theſe Sects any *certaine humane externall Iudge*, ſo *infallibly to interpret Scriptures*, and by them and by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt ſo vndoubtedly to *define* queſtions of Faith, that I could aſſure my ſelfe and my ſoule, *This Iudge is infallible; and to him thou oughteſt in conſcience to obey* and yeeld thy *vnderſtanding in all his determinations of Faith, for he cannot erre in* thoſe points. And note that I ſpeake now of an *externall, humane, infallible Iudge*. For I know the Holy Ghoſt is the *Diuine internall and principall Iudge*; and the Scriptures be the *Law* or *Rule* by which that humane externall Iudge muſt proceede. But the *Holy Scriptures* being often the *Matter* of Controuerſie and ſomtime queſtioned which be Scriptures, and which bee not, they alone of themſelues cannot be Iudges: and for the

the Holy Ghoſt likewiſe euery one pretending him to bee his Patron, how ſhould I certainly know by whom he ſpeaketh, or not? For to *Men* we muſt goe to learne, and not to *Angels*, nor to *God himſelfe immediately*. The Head of your Church was the *Queene* (an excellent notable *Prince*) but a *Woman*, not to ſpeake, much leſſe to be *Iudge* in the Church; and ſince a *learned King*, like King *Henrie the eight*, who was the firſt temporall Prince that euer made himſelfe *Ex Regio jure*, *Head of the Church in ſpirituall matters*, a new ſtrange Doctrine, and therefore iuſtly condemned by *Caluin* for monſtrous. But ſuppoſe hee were ſuch a Head, yet you all confeſſe that hee may erre in matters of Faith. And ſo you acknowledge may your *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, and your whole Clergie in their *Conuocation-houſe*, euen making Articles and Decrees: yea, though a *Councell* of all your *Lutherans*, *Caluiniſts*, *Proteſtants*, *&c.* of *Germanie*, *France*, *England*, *&c.* were all ioyned together, and ſhould agree all (which they neuer will doe) to compound and determine the differences among themſelues, yet by your ordinarie Doctrine of moſt Proteſtants they might in ſuch a Councell erre, and it were poſſible in their Decrees to be deceiued. But if they may erre, how ſhould I know and be ſure when and wherein they did or did not erre? for though on the one ſide *A poſſe ad eſſe non valet ſemper conſequentia*, yet *aliquando valet*, and on the other ſide *frustra dicitur potentia, quæ nunquam ducitur in actum*. So that if neither in generall nor in particular, in publique nor priuate, in head nor members, ioyntly nor ſeuerally

you haue no *viſible*, *externall*, *humane*, *infallible Iudge*, *who cannot erre*, and to whom I might haue recourſe for deciſion of doubts in matters of faith. I pray let Maſter *Hall* tell me, where ſhould I haue fixed my foot? for God is my witneſſe, my ſoule was like *Noahs Doue*, a long time houering & deſirous to diſcouer land, but ſeeing nothing but moueable and troubleſome deceiueable water, I could find no quiet center for my conſcience, nor any firme foundation for your faith in Proteſtant Religion. Wherfore hearing a ſound of *harmonie* and *conſent*, that the Catholique Church *could not erre*, and that onely in the Catholique Church, as in *Noahs* Arke was *infallabilitie* and *poſsibilitie* of ſaluation; I was ſo occaſioned, and I thinke had important reaſon, like *Noahs* Doue, to ſeeke out, and to enter into this
VI. *Arke* of *Noah*. Hereupon I was occaſioned to doubt, *whether the Church of England were the true Church, or not:* For by conſent of all, the true Church cannot erre; but the Church of *England*, head and members, King, Clergie, and People, as before is ſaid, yea a whole Councell of Proteſtants by their owne grant may erre, *ergo*, no true Church. If no true Church, no ſaluation in it; therefore come out of it: but that I was loath to doe. Rather I laboured mightily to defend it, both againſt the *Puritanes*, and againſt the *Catholiques:* But the beſt arguments I could vſe againſt the *Puritanes* from the *Authoritie of the Church*, and of the ancient *Doctors* interpreting Scriptures againſt them, when they could not anſwere them, they would reiect them for Popiſh, and flye to their owne arrogant

ſpirit,

ſpirit, by which forſooth they muſt controll others. This I found on the one ſide moſt abſurd, and to breede an *Anarchy* of confuſion: and yet when I come to anſwere the *Catholique Arguments* on the other ſide againſt *Proteſtants*, vrging the like *Authority and vniformity of the Church*, I perceiued the moſt *Proteſtants* did frame euaſions, in effect like thoſe of the Puritanes inclining to their priuate ſpirit, and other vncertainties.

Next therefore I applied my ſelfe to follow their opinion, who would make *the Church of England and the Church of Rome ſtill to be all one in eſſentiall points, and the differences to be accidentall*; confeſſing the Church of *Rome* to be a *true Church*, though ſicke, or corrupted, and the Proteſtants to be deriued from it and reformed: and to this end I laboured much to reconcile moſt of our particular controuerſies: But in truth I found ſuch contrarieties, not onely betweene Catholiques and Proteſtants, but euen among Proteſtants themſelues, that I could neuer ſettle my ſelfe fully in this opinion of ſome reconciliation, which I know many great Schollers in *England* did fauour. For conſidering ſo many oppoſite great points, for which they did excommunicate and put to death each other, and making *the Pope to be Antichriſt*, proper or improper, it could neuer ſinke into my braine how theſe two could be deſcendent, or members ſound nor vnſound participant each of other. Rather I concluded, that ſeeing many of the beſt learned Proteſtants did grant *the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though peraduenture faultie in ſome things*: V.

And

And contrarily, not onely the *Catholiques*, but alſo the *Puritanes, Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, &c.* did all *denie the Church of England to be a true Church:* therefore it would be more ſafe and ſecure to become a *Romane Catholique*, who haue a true Church by conſent of both parties, then to remaine a *Proteſtant*, who doe alone plead their owne cauſe, hauing all the other againſt them: For the teſtimony of our ſelues, and our contraries alſo, is much more ſufficient, and more certaine then to iuſtifie our ſelues alone. Yet I reſiſted and ſtood out ſtill: and betooke my ſelfe againe to reade ouer and examine the chiefeſt controuerſies, eſpecially thoſe about the *Church*, which is, *cardo negotij* (and herein becauſe the Bearer ſtaies now a day or two longer, I will inlarge my ſelfe more then I purpoſed) and ſo I would needes peruſe the *Originall quotations and Texts of the Councels, Fathers, and Doctors*, in the Authors, themſelues which were alleadged on both parts, to ſee if they were truely cited, and according to the meaning of the Authors: a labour of much labor, and of trauell ſometime to finde the Books, wherein I found much *fraud* committed by the Proteſtants; and that the Catholiques *had farre greater and better armies of euident witneſſes* on their ſides, much more then the Proteſtants; in ſo much, that the *Centuriſts* are faine often to cenſure and reiect the plaine teſtimonies of thoſe Ancients, as if their new cenſure were ſufficient to diſauthorize the others auncient ſentences. And ſo I remember *Danæus in Commentarijs ſuper D. Auguſtin Enchirid. ad Laurentium.* Where Saint *Auguſtin* plainely auoucheth

VI.

VII.

auoucheth Purgatory: he reiects Saints *Auguſtines* opinion, ſaying, *hic eſt nævus Auguſtini:* but I had rather follow Saint *Auguſtins* opinion, then his cenſure; for who are they to controll the Fathers.

There are indeede ſome *few places* in Authors, which *prima facie* ſeeme to fauour Proteſtants, as many Heretiques alleadge ſome texts of Scriptures, whoſe ſound of words ſeeme to make for their opinions: but being well examined and interpreted, according to the analogie of faith, and according to many other places of the ſame Authours where they doe more fully explaine their opinions; ſo they appeare to be wreſted, and from the purpoſe.

In fine, I found my ſelfe euidently *conuinced*, both by many Authorities, and by many Arguments, which now I doe not remember all, nor can here repeate thoſe which I doe remember: but onely ſome few arguments I will relate vnto you which preuailed moſt with me, beſides thoſe afore mentioned.

VIII. Firſt, therefore I could neuer approue the Proteſtants euaſion by *Inuiſibility of their Church:* For though ſometime it may be diminiſhed and obſcured, yet the *Catholique Church muſt euer be viſible, ſet on a hill, and not as light hid vnder a Buſhell*; for how ſhould it enlighten and teach her children, if inuiſible, or how ſhould Strangers, and Pagans, and others, be conuerted vnto her? or where ſhould any finde the Sacraments, if inuiſible?

IX. Alſo the true Church in all places and all ages, euer holds one *vniformitie* and concord in all matters of *Faith*, though not in all matters of *ceremony or gouernment:* But the Proteſtants Church hath

not in all ages, nor in all places ſuch vniforme concord, no not in one age, as is manifeſt to all the world, and as *Father Parſons* proued againſt *Foxes martirs*, *Wickliffe*, *Huſſe*, and the reſt: *ergo* the Proteſtants Church, not the true Church.

X. Againe, by that ſaying, *Hæreſes ad originem renocaſſe eſt refutaſſe*; and ſo conſidering *Luthers* firſt rancour againſt the *Dominicans*, his diſobedience and contempt of his former Superiours, his vowe breaking, and violent courſes, euen cauſing rebellion againſt the *Emperour*, whom he reuiles, and other Princes moſt ſhamefully, ſurely ſuch arrogant diſobedience, ſciſme, and rebellions, had no warrant nor vocation of God to plant his Church, but of the Deuill to begin a ſciſme and a ſect. So likewiſe for *Caluin*, to ſay nothing of all that D. *Bolſecus* brings againſt him. I doe vrge onely what Maſter *Hooker*, Doctor *Bancroft*, and *Sarauia* doe proue againſt him, for his vnquietneſſe and ambition, reuoluing the Common-wealth, and ſo vniuſtly expelling and depriuing the Biſhop of *Geneua*, and other temporall Lords of their due obedience, and ancient inheritance. Moreouer, I referre you to the ſtirres, broiles, ſedition, and murders which *Knoxe* and the *Genena* Goſpellers cauſed in *Scotland* againſt their lawfull Gouernours, againſt their *Queene*, and againſt *our King, euen in his Mothers belly*. Nor will I inſiſt vpon the paſſions which firſt moued *King Henrie* violently to diuorce himſelfe from his lawfull wife, to fall out with the Pope his friend, to marrie the Lady *Anne Bullen*, and ſoone after to behead her; to diſinherite *Queene Mary*, and inable

enable *Queene Elizabeth*; and presently to disinherit *Queene Elizabeth*, and to restore *Queene Mary*; to hang Catholiques for traitors, and to burne Protestants for heretiques, to destroy *Monasteries*, and to pill Churches: were these fit beginnings for the Gospell of Christ? I pray was this man a good *head of Gods Church?* for my part, I beseech our Lord blesse me from being a member of such a head, or such a Church. I come to *France* and *Holland*, where you know by the *Hugenots* and *Geuses all Caluinistes*, what ciuill wars they haue raised, how much bloud they haue shed, what rebellion, rapine, and desolations they haue occasioned principally for their new Religion, founded in bloud like *Dracos* lawes: But I would gladly know, whether you can approue such bloudy broiles for Religion, or no? I know Protestants *de facto*, doe iustifie the ciuill warres of *France* and *Holland* for good against their Kings, but I could neuer vnderstand of them *quo Iure*: if the *Hollanders* be Rebels (as they are) why did we support them? if they be no rebels, because they fight for the pretended liberty of their ancient priuiledges, and for their new Religion; wee see it is an easie matter to pretend liberties, and also why may not others as as well reuolt for their old Religion: Or I beseech you, why is that accounted *treason against the State* in *Catholiques*, which is called *reason of State* in *Protestants?* I reduce this argument to few words, *That Church which is founded and begun in malice disobedience, passion, bloud, and rebellion, cannot be the true Church:* but it is euident to the world that *the Protestant Churches in Germanie, France, Holland,*

Geneua, &c. were ſo founded, and in *Geneua* and *Holland* are ſtill continued in rebellion: *ergo*, *they are not true Churches.*

XI. Furthermore, where is not *Succeſſion* both of true Paſtors and of true Doctrine, there is no true Church: But among Proteſtants is no ſucceſſion of true Paſtors, (for I omit here to treate of Doctrine) *ergo*, no true Church. I prooue the *minor*: where is *no conſecration nor ordination of Biſhops and Prieſts*, according to the due forme and right intention required neceſſarily by the Church and ancient Councels, there is no ſucceſſion of true Paſtors: but among Proteſtants the ſaid due forme and right intention are not obſerued, *ergo*, no ſucceſſion of true Paſtors. The ſaid due forme and right intention are not obſerued among Proteſtants in *France*, *Holland*, nor *Germanie*, where they haue no *Biſhops*, and where Lay men doe intermeddle in the making of their Miniſters. And for *England*, whereas the Councels require the *ordines minores* of *Subdeacon and the reſt*, to goe before Prieſthood; your Miniſters are made *per ſaltum* without euer being Subdeacons! And whereas the Councels require three Biſhops to aſſiſt at the conſecration of a Biſhop, it is certaine that *at the Nags-head in Cheap-ſide* where conſecration of your firſt Biſhops was attempted but not effected (whereabout I remember the controuerſie you had with one) there was but one Biſhop, and I am ſure there was ſuch a matter: and although I know and haue ſeene the Records themſelues, that afterward there was a conſecration of *Doctor Parker at Lambeth*, and three Biſhops named,

med, *viz. Miles Couerdall of Exceter*, one *Hodgeſkin Suffragan of Bedford*, and another whoſe name I haue forgotten, yet it is very doubtfull that *Couerdall* being made Biſhop of *Exceter* in *King Edwards* time (when all Councels and Church Canons were little obſerued) he was neuer himſelfe Canonically conſecrated; and ſo if he were no Canonicall Biſhop, he could not make another Canonicall: and the third vnnamed, as I remember (but am not ſure) was onely a *Biſhop Elect*, and not conſecrated, and ſo was not ſufficient. But hereof I am ſure, that they did conſecrate *Parker* by vertue of a Breue *from the Queene as Head of the Church*, who indeed being no true Head and a Woman, I cannot ſee how they could make *a true conſecration grounded on* her authoritie. Furthermore, making your Miniſters you keepe not the *right intention*; for neither doe the Orderer nor the Ordered giue nor receiue the Orders *as a Sacrament*; nor with any intention of *Sacrificing*. Alſo they want the *matter* and *forme* with which according to the Councels and Canons of the Church holy Orders ſhould be giuen; namely for the *matter*, Prieſthood is giuen *by the deliuerie of the Patena* with *bread*, and of the *Chalice* with *wine*: Deaconſhip by the deliuerie of the *booke of the Goſpels*; and Subdeaconſhip by the deliuerie of the *Patena* alone, and of the *Chalice* emptie. And in the ſubſtantiall forme of Prieſthood you doe faile moſt of all, which forme conſiſts in theſe wordes, *Accipe poteſtatem offerendi ſacrificium in Eccleſia pro viuis & mortuis*, which are neither ſaid nor done by you, and therefore well may you bee called *Miniſters*, as

alſo Lay men are, but you are no *Prieſts*. Wherefore I conclude, wanting *Subdeaconſhip*, wanting vndoubted Canonicall *Biſhops*, wanting *right intention*, wanting *matter* and due *forme*, and deriuing euen that you ſeeme to haue from *a Woman* the *Head of your Church*, therefore you haue *no true Paſtors*,
XII. and conſequently *no true Church*. And ſo to conclude, and not to wearie my ſelfe and you too much, being reſolued in my vnderſtanding, by theſe and many other Arguments, *that the Church of England was not the true Church*, but that *the Church of Rome was and is the onely true Church*, becauſe it alone is *Ancient*, *Catholique*, and *Apoſtolique*, hauing *Succeßion*, *Vnitie*, and *Viſibilitie*, in *all ages* and *places*; yet what *agonies* I paſſed with my will, here I will ouer-paſſe. Onely I cannot pretermit to tell you, that at laſt hauing alſo maſtered and ſubdued my will to relent vnto my vnderſtanding, by meanes of prayer, and by God Almighties grace principally, I came to breake through many tentations and impediments, and from a troubled vnquiet heart to a fixed and peaceable tranquilitie of minde, for which I doe moſt humbly thanke our ſweet Lord and Sauiour *Ieſus*, before whom with all reuerence I doe auouch *and ſweare* vnto you, as I ſhall anſwere it in the dreadfull day of iudgement when all hearts ſhal be diſcouered, that *I forſooke Proteſtant Religion for very feare of damnation*; and became a Catholique with *good hope of ſaluation*; and that in this hope I doe continue and increaſe daily: and that I would not for all the world become a *Proteſtant* againe. And for this which here I haue written vnto you in great

great haſte, I know there bee many *Replyes* and *Reioynders* wherewith I could neuer be ſatisfied; nor doe I deſire any further Diſputation about them, but rather to ſpend the reſt of my life in *deuotion*; yet in part to giue you, my deare good friend, ſome *account* of my ſelfe, hauing now ſo good an occaſion and fit a meſſenger, and by you if you pleaſe to render a reaſon of my Faith to Maſter *Hall*, who in his ſaid *printed Epiſtle* in one place deſires to know the *motiues* thereof, I haue thus plainly made relation of ſome points among many. Whereunto if Maſter *Hall* will make any *Reply*, I doe deſire it may bee *directly* & *fully* to the points and in *friendly termes*, vpon which condition I doe pardon what is paſt: and of you I know I neede not require any ſuch circumſtances. And ſo moſt ſeriouſly intreating and praying to our gracious Lord to direct and keepe vs all and euer in his holy Truth, I commend you vnto his heauenly grace, and my ſelfe vnto your friendly loue. *Seuill* in *Spaine*, this firſt day of Aprill. 1615.

Your very affectionate and true louing friend,

IAMES WADDESWORTH.

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To the Worſhipfull his reſpected friend *Maſter* WILLIAM BEDELL, *at his* houſe in Saint *Edmundsbury*, or at *Horinger*, *be there deliuered in Suffolke*.

Kinde Maſter BEDELL,

MIne old acquaintance and friend hauing heard of your health and worldly well-fare, by this Bearer Maſter *Auſten* your neighbour, and by him hauing opportunitie to ſalute you with theſe few Lines, I could not omit; though ſome fewe yeeres ſince I wrote you by one who ſince told mee certainly hee deliuered my Letters, and that you promiſed anſwere, and ſo you are in my debt, which I doe not claime nor vrge ſo much, as I doe that in truth and before our Lord I ſpeake it, you doe owe me loue in all mutuall amitie, for the heartie affectionate loue which I haue and euer did beare vnto you with all ſinceritie. For though I loue not your Religion (wherein I could neuer finde ſolide Truth, nor firme hope of ſaluation, as now I doe being a *Catholique*, and our Lord is my witneſſe who ſhall be my iudge) yet indeed I doe loue your perſon, and your ingenuous, honeſt, good, morall condition, which euer I obſerued in you: nor doe I deſire to haue altercations with Maſter *Ioſeph Hall* (eſpecially if he ſhould proceede as Satyrically as he hath begun with me) nor with any other man, and much

much leſſe would I haue any debate with your ſelfe, whom I doe eſteeme and affect as before I haue written: nor would I ſpend the reſt of my life (which I take to be ſhort, for my lungs are decaying) in any Queſtions, but rather in deuotion, wherein I doe much more deſire to bee hot and feruorous, then in Diſputations, beſeeching our Lord to forgiue my coldneſſe, yea my neglect therein, and to pardon and free me from all ſinne, and to guide and keepe you in all happineſſe euen as I wiſh for mine owne ſoule, through the Redemption of our *ſweet Sauiour*, and *by the interceſſion of his holy Mother*, and all *Saints*, *Amen*. Written in haſte from *Madrid*, 14. Aprill. 1619.

Your aſſured true friend,

IAMES WADDESWORTH.

Receiued Iune 4. 1619.

To the Worſhipfull my very good friend Maſter IAMES WADDESWORTH *at* Madrid, *deliuer this.*

Salutem in Chriſto Ieſu.

THE *late receipt of your Letters* (*good Maſter* Waddeſworth) *did diuerſly affect me with ioy and ſhame*; *and I know not with whether moſt. I was glad to heare of you, and your proſperous ſtate, much more to receiue a kinde Letter from you. Aſhamed,*

therein to be called vpon for debt; *who haue euer endeuoured to liue by that rule of the Apoſtle;* Owe nothing to any man. *Yet not ſo much for that which you muſt vrge the debt of loue, ſith by that Text it appears, that it can neuer be ſo diſcharged, as there ſhould not be more behinde to pay. And your ſelfe who challenge this of me, doe owe me as much or well more. For let me tell you, I haue the aduantage of you herein by my profeſſion, for where your loue is to me as to a man, or to an honeſt man, nor can by your preſent perſwaſion goe any further, I can and doe loue you as my deare brother, and fellow member in the myſticall body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. And from this ground (to his knowledge I doe appeale) I doe heartily pray for you, and beare with you, and as the Apoſtle enioynes,* Rom. 15. 7. *Receiue you with a true brotherly affection. I am not therefore aſhamed of this debt, but doe reioyce as much in the owing of it, as in the payment. But my ſhame growes from the being behinde with you in* the office of writing. *Wherein yet heare my honeſt and true excuſe. Neither will I goe about to ſet off one debt with another. For you may remember how at our parting you promiſed to write to me* touching the ſtate of Religion *there, which if wee ſhall make out a perfect reckoning, I account to be a good debt ſtill. But this I ſay, when your Letters of the firſt of Aprill,* 1615. *came to my hands, I purpoſed to returne anſwere by the ſame Bearer, who as hee told mee, was to returne about the Midſommer following. But I had a ſodaine and extraordinarie iourny which came betweene, and kept me from home till after the Commencement, ſo as that opportunitie was loſt. Beſides, vpon the reading of your*

Letters,

Letters, I perceiued your intention was to haue them imparted to Doctor Hall, expecting in a ſort ſome reply from him. To him therefore did I ſend them. After ſome moneths I receiued this anſwere, which though I had once purpoſed to conceale, as not willing to be the meane of any exaſperation betweene you, yet now hoping of your wiſedome and patience I ſend you incloſed, that it may be ſome euidence of my true excuſe. Vpon the receipt of it, I began to frame an anſwere to the points of your Letter, according to your deſire, full, and in friendly termes. I had well-nigh finiſhed it, when I was preſented to this Benefice, and thereby entered into a world of diſtractions. Theſe, together with the labour of writing it ouer, and vncertaintie of ſafe conueighing my Letters to you, did make mee procraſtinate my payment, till now to my ſhame you ſhould neede to demand it. And that I may by the more ſhaming my ſelfe obtaine a more eaſie penance from you; I confeſſe to you, I was ſometime halfe in the minde (hauing eſpecially differred it ſo long) to ſuppreſſe it altogether. Firſt, out of mine owne naturall diſpoſition, who haue euer abhorred contention: and whereas in matters of Religion there ought to be the faireſt wars, I could neuer yet meete with any of that ſide of ſo patient a minde, but by oppoſition he would be vnſetled. For your ſelfe, though I knew your former moderate temper, and (as I remember I wrote to Doctor Hall) beleeued you in that which you proteſt, that out of conſcience you were ſuch as you profeſſe; yet me thought I perceiued by your quick manner to him, and ſome paſſages in the concluſion of your Letter, you were rather deſirous to enioy the quiet poſſeſſion of your owne opi-

nion, then come to any further disputation whose is the right. And in truth the time of that triall had beene proper, before your departure: nor you had too farre engaged your selfe, and were to iustifie by your constancie, the wisedome of your change. Besides, since the sum of the errour of that side, as I haue euer conceiued it, is beleeuing rather to much, then failing in any point necessary to saluation, that notable place of the Apostle, Rom. 14. 1. came to my minde, especially after that I had once occasion to preach of it, where he forbids controuersies of disputations with those that are infirme in faith. Who art thou (saith he) that iudgest another mans seruant? he standeth or falleth to his owne Master. Why should I grieue you, and perhaps make my friend mine enemy (as Saint Paul the Galathians) by saying the truth. The world is full enough of contentious writings, which as by your letter appeares you had seen ere ye resolued. If those had not satisfied you, what could I hope to adde to them? These things moued me; but as you say, they did not yet satisfie me. For all men are interessed in the defence of truth, how much more he that is called to be a Preacher of it? All Christians are admonished by Saint Iude, to fight for the faith once giuen to the Saints; how much more those that are leaders in this warfare: How could I say I loued our Lord Iesus Christ, if his honour being questioned I should be silent? How could I approue to mine owne soule that I loued you, if I suffered you to enioy your owne error, suppose not damnable. Besides that, you and perhaps others also might be confirmed in it, perhaps interpreting my silence for a confession that your Motiues were vnanswerable. But

therein

therein I was not onely resolued my selfe to the contrary, but thought it so easie to resolue any indifferent minde, as me thought it was more shame not to haue done it at the first, then praise to doe it at the last. As for the successe of my endeauour, I was to leaue it to God. Many and secret are the wayes of his Prouidence, which serueth it selfe sometimes euen of our errours, to the safer conduct of vs to our finall happinesse. Some I had known, and heard of more, who being at first carried away with the shewes of Vnity, Order, Succession, Infallability, *when they found them emptie of* Truth, *and the cloakes of* Pride, ambition, couetousnesse, *ioyned with an* obstinacie *to defend all* corruptions *how palpable soeuer, by finding the difference of these Husles from their Fathers Table, had with the prodigall Son returned home againe. To conclude, I accounted my selfe still* in debt, *and was I confesse to you vnwilling to die in it; and sometimes vowed to God, in the middest of my troubles, if I might once see an end of them, to endeuour to discharge it. And now hauing by his mercy not onely attained that, but a new occasion presented me presently thereupon, by your calling for satisfaction to pay it, and meanes offered me to send it safely: I take this motion to proceede from God, and doe humbly desire his Maiesty to turne it to good. It remaines therefore, good Master* Wadesworth, *that I doe intreat your pardon of that slackenesse that is past, and gentlenesse to take it as I shall be able to pay it. My employments both ordinary and extraordinary are many: the bulke of it is to great to conuey in one Letter, consisting of sundry sheetes of Paper; and at this present there lies an extraordinary taske vpon me, so as I cannot presently writ*

it out. I doe therefore no more now but acknowledge the debt, *and promiſe ſpeedy paiment. Vnleſſe I ſhall adde this alſo, that I doe vndertake to* pay intereſt *for the forbearance; and according as I ſhall vnderſtand by Maſter* Auſten *ſhall be fitteſt, and ſafeſt, to ſend it in parts, or all at once. To the concluſion of your laſt Letter, wherein you profeſſe your deſire* to ſpend the reſt of your life rather in the heate of deuotion, then of diſputation, deſiring pardon of coldeneſſe that way, and of all other your ſinnes, and that it would pleaſe God to guide and keepe me in all happineſſe as your ſelfe, through the redemption of our ſweete Sauiour, and by the interceſſion of his holy mother and all Saints, *I doe moſt thankefully and willingly ſubſcribe* Amen: *returning vnto you from my heart your owne beſt wiſhes. Neither is it my purpoſe to call into queſtion the ſoliditie of truth, or firmeneſſe of the hope of ſaluation, which you finde in your preſent way. This onely I ſay.* * Et pro nobis Chriſtus mortuus eſt, & pro noſtra Redemptione ſanguinem ſuum fudit. Peccatores quidem, ſed de ipſius grege ſumus, & inter eius ouiculas numeramur: *This is my* tenet. *And if the doctrine of the holy Bible doe containe ſolid truth, and beleeuing* in the name of the Son of God *doe giue firme hope of ſaluation, according to Gods own record,* 1 Iohn 5.10.11.12. *we are perſwaded we haue both. I will adde this more;* We know that wee are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe wee loue our brethren. *With this* Oyle in our Lampes, *which we deſire may be alwayes in ſtore in our* Veſſels *alſo our hearts, we attend the comming of the* Bridegroome; *and ſay cheerefully,* * Etiam veni Domine Ieſu. *To whoſe*

Euen for vs alſo hath Chriſt died, and for our redemption hath hee ſhed his bloud. Sinners indeed we are, but of his flocke, and among his poore ſheepe are we numbred.

*Euen ſo come Lord Ieſus.

whose gracious protection I doe most hartily commit you, and doe rest,

Your assured friend and louing

Brother, W. Bedell.

Horningesherth *this fifth of August* 1619.

✠

To the Worshipfull Master William Bedell *at Horningesherth neere Saint* Edmundsbury *in* Suffolke, *these.*

Salutem in Crucifixo.

Worthy Sir,

I Was exceeding glad to perceiue by your kinde, modest, and discreete Letters of 5. of *August* last, that you are still permanent in your own good nature, and constant in your loue to me: not like Master *Ioseph Hall*, neither bitterly reuiling nor flourishing impertinently. Vnto whom I pray you returne his scoffing railing Letter, with these few marginall noates. I pray God forgiue him, and make him a more humbler and meeker man. And I for my part doe freely pardon all his foule tearmes against me. And though in gratitude and iustice I am bound and so doe loue and respect you more then him, for your greater curtesie to me, and for your

your better value in your ſelfe; yet euen him I can and doe and am bound to loue not onely as an enemy, or a creature of God, or as I doe you for an honeſt, morall, good, diſcreete man, but euen further and beyond that which you ſeeme to vnderſtand that we cannot by our doctrine proceede in loue: *viz.* as men hauing ſoules for whom our Sauiour hath died; and ſo as poſſible members though indeede not actuall branches of his miſticall body: yea for ſuch as may come to be ingrafted and beare fruite in him, when we may be withered, cut off, or fallen away. As for your ſerious *Apologie* and excuſe for not anſwering my firſt Letters all this while, I doe eaſily admit it, and aſſure my ſelfe that all the circumſtances, impediments, and occaſions were ſuch, as you affirme: nor did I expect, nor vrge, in my firſt nor ſecond Letters any anſwere about *Controuerſies* in Religion (for I euer ſaid we could ſay nothing of ſubſtance which before had not beene ſaid) but onely gaue you by Maſters *Hals* occaſion ſome few reaſons of my faith, wherein ſtill I proteſt I had rather be deuout then be troubled to diſpute, not for feare or doubt, but becauſe I am ſo fully reſolued in my ſelfe, and do think it a very ſuperfluous labour *toties & melius ab alijs actum agere.* So that I deſired rather anſwere of curteſie then of controuerſie, which now by Maſter *Aſtons* meanes I receiued, and doe much eſteeme it, and hartily thanke you for it. Neuertheleſſe, when your Replie vnto my plaine and few reaſons come, I will for your ſake both read them ouer, and according to my little health, leſſe leiſure, and my poore ability

abilitie (which is leaſt of all) *returne you ſome ſuch ſhort reioynder* as it ſhall pleaſe almighty God to enable me, being glad to perceiue by your laſt that you doe ſubſcribe to our *Interceſſion by our bleſſed Lady, and other holy Saints*; which alſo I hope and wiſh you would fully extend to our *Innocation of Saints as Interceſſors*, not as *Redeemers*, for that were *Blaſpemie indeede* and *Idolatrie*; from which our ſweete Sauiour deliuer vs, and euer keepe you my good deere friend, as I deſire.

Madrid, in haſte, 26.
Octob. 1619.

IAMES WADDESWORTH.

To the worſhipfull my very good friend M. IAMES WADDESWORTH, at *Madrid*, deliuer this.

Salutem in Chriſto Ieſu.

YOur Letters of the 26. of October (beloued Maſter Waddeſworth*) were long vpon the way and came not to my hands till the 23. of May. In them I receiued your curteous acceptation of my excuſe for my former ſilence, & cenſure of Doctor* Halls *Letter with the profeſſion of your loue to me and him, further then I accounted you could by your Doctrine pro-*

ceede, viz. as redeemed by Christ, and possible members of his mysticall body. *Truely Sir, I will not change words with you here abouts, but I account still to be* an honest man, *restraineth from that*, to be redeemed *by our Sauiour, since that is as large as* humane nature, *this is giuen to fewer, of whom a man may say as our Lord doth of one in the Gospell, that* they are not far from the Kingdome of God. *Howsoeuer, I haue still my intention that* wee out of our profession may loue you better then you can vs: *since it is more to be an* actuall, *then a* possible *member of Christ*; *and the* Communion of Saints *is a straighter bond, then* Redemption *by Christ, and possibilitie of being ingrafted and bearing fruite in his mysticall body. And I would to Christ that of all other Controuersies this were the vehementest betweene vs*, which should loue each other most. *Where in although I would striue and doe my best to haue the better, yet see how equally I would contend. For both I would acknowledge freely, my selfe farre short of that which I may by my profession doe in this kinde, and perswade my selfe better of your secret affection to vs, then you may by your profession expresse. I will not easily beleeue that you can finde in your heart to count that man a Dogge, and out of the Church, and in state of damnation, that* sted fastly beleeueth in our Lord Iesus Christ, *and by him in the* B. Trinitie; *that confesseth* all the Doctrine of holy Scriptures, *the summe whereof is in the* Creede; *that lastly, with a* charitable *affection embraceth all that hold this faith, throughout the world, yea euen*

those

those that hate and persecute him to the death. Wherein I forbeare for the present to enlarge, because I speake more of it in my answere to your first Letters; which Master Aston *giues me hope that himselfe ere long will consigne into your hands. Now by his direction, I send you onely aduice of the receipt of your last, with heartie thankes for them, desirous not to runne further in arrerages with you in this office of writing. This one thing I adde, that where you write* you are glad I doe subscribe to your intercession by the Saints, *wishing me* fully to extend it to inuocation of Saints as Intercessors, *though not as* Redeemers, *I should be very glad if I could as well content you in all other points, as that one: comming thus prepared in all controuersies with you, and all men, to* yeelde whatsoeuer I may, sauing the truth. *But as I conceiue it, there is great oddes betweene these two.* To desire God to grant vs this or that good thing by the intercession of the Saints; *and,* To vse inuocation of themselues. *The one supposeth onely that* the Saints in glory generally knowing the warfare of those on earth, are carefull for them, *and omit not this act of* neuer failing charitie to pray for them. *These prayers it hopes, and desires of God may be helpefull to vs, by the onely merits of our Lord Iesus Christ; in the same sort as those of the Saints whereseoeuer* on earth; *as* 2 Cor. 1. 11. Ephes. 6. 1. Philem. ver. 22. *The other, that* the Saints departed know our wants, and states in particular, and heare our prayers, *and by consequent* know our hearts: *which is flatly contra-*

rie to the Scriptures 2 Chron. 6 30. Esay 63.16. *To omit now that you doe not onely* desire them to pray for you, *but* aske at their hands grace and glory, trust in them, vow to them, sweare by them, offer and receiue the sacrifice of the New Testament to their honour and glory, and desire it may be accepted by their patronage. *Wherefore as I am glad to perceiue that you doe reuerse those blasphemies indeede,* Salua me Saluatrix; Redime me Redemptrix; *and will not subscribe to these words of* Bellarmine, non erit absurdum si sancti viri redemptores nostri aliquo modo, id est secundum aliquid, non simpliciter; & largo modo, non in rigore verborum esse dicantur: *and againe,* cur ineptè dicamur Sancti viri aliquo modo passionibus suis delicta nostra posse redimere? *so I hope and wish you would doe the like for* calling vpon them, *and presenting* their merits vnto God; *and as yee may more safely and sweetely speake vnto* our Iesus, *who is* our Aduocate with the Father, entered into the Holy of Holies to appeare before God for vs. *To his gracious protection I commit you, and doe rest*

Horningsheath this 15. of Iune, 1620.

Your assured friend
and louing brother
W. Bedell.

✠

To the worshipfull his much respected friend Master WILLIAM BEDELL at *Horningsheath* by Saint *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolke*, these.

My very good Friend

MAster BEDELL, my last vnto you was by a Gentleman who went from hence about sixe moneths since; but I haue vnderstood hee fell sicke at *Paris*, by the way, and so was first hindered there in his iourney, and afterward againe at *Brussels* fell to a relapse, which detained him so long, that although now very lately I heare he is recouered and gone forward into *England*, yet in so long delayes & so often sickenesses, I know not whether hee haue lost or forgotten my former Letters: wherefore out of this consideration, and by the opportunitie of this Bringer, and by the true harty affection which I beare you, being desirous to signifie vnto you the continuance of my sincere loue, I could not pretermit this so good an occasion, though hereby I haue nothing else to say, nor intreate, but *if wee haue warres*, yet our dissention may be rather in the *matter* and *cases*, then betwixt our *persons*, as discreete *Lawyers* vse to pleade vehemently each for

his *Clyents iustice*, and yet remaine betwixt themselues without breach of amitie, and abstaining from opprobrious iniurie; wherein I haue great confidence that you will proceede both more moderately in all the circumstance, and to better purpose in the substance then Master *Ioseph Hall*, vnto whose Letter directed to you, and by you sent vnto me, I wrote certaine *Marginall Notes* onely, and so returned the same by the aboue named Gentleman, whereof also (if it returne to your hands) I would intreate you to send me a Copie both of his *Text and my Glosse*, for then being in haste I remained with neither. Our Lord keepe you, and guide vs all to his truth, and to heauen.

Madrid, 8. *Iune*,
1620.

IAMES WADDESWORTH.

The Letter of Master D. HALL, *mentioned in the former with Master* WADDESWORTHS *marginall notes.*

GOod Master *Bedell*, what a sorry crabbe hath Master *Waddesworth* at last sent vs from *Siuill?* I pittie the [a] *impotent malice* of the man; sure that hot Region, and *sulphurous Religion* are guiltie of this his choler. For ought I see hee is

[a] *I pray see within how short a compasse he proues himself a Poeticall railer by his* Epithets, *not onely against me, but reuiling a whole Nation, and the Religion of the best part of all Christendome.*

not

not onely turned Papiſt but *Spaniard* too. *Ibi vi-*
nitur ambitioſa paupertate: The great man would
not foyle his fingers (for that is his word) with
ſuch an aduerſarie as my ſelfe; hee ſhould haue
found this conflict his foyling indeede; but hee
ſcornes the match; and what wonder if he that
hath all this while [b] *ſat on Father Creſwels ſtaires,*
ſcorne the vnworthineſſe of him whom an Eng-
liſh Vniuerſitie ſcorned not to ſet in the chaire of
Diuinitie? But whence is this my contempt? I
ſee but two vices to cleare my ſelfe of; *Poetry* and
Railing; of the latter you ſhall acquit mee if
you will but reade that my poore Epiſtle which
he ſleights thus: Let your eyes iudge whether
euer any thing could be written more mildely,
more modeſtly, more louingly. Of the former I
muſt acquit my ſelfe; *Cuius vnum eſt ſed magnum*
vitium Poeſis: what were I the worſe if I were ſtill
a louer of thoſe ſtudies? If he could haue had leiſure
to tend vpon any thing *beſides that Fathers Packets,*
he might haue ſeene moſt of the renowned and
holy Fathers of the Church eminent in that pro-
feſſion for which I am ſcornd; amongſt many
others *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Nazianzen*, *Pru-*
dentius, *Fulgentius*, *Apollinarius*, *Nonnus*, *Hilari-*
us, *Proſper*, and now in the vpſhot [d] deuout *Ber-*
nard, and why ſhould their honour be my diſ-
grace? But the truth is, theſe were the recreations
of my minoritie; *nunc oblita mihi.* And if Poe-

b *This mocke if it were true, yet would I reioyce in it, not onely to ſit on his ſtaires, but to make cleane his ſhooes.*

c *I tearmed him a Poeticall Railer, not accuſing nor honoring him for a Poet; but taxing him for raiſing poetically vſing the word as ſometimes it is in the worſt ſenſe when it is abuſed: neither condemning Poetrie nor approuing him for a Poet, but a poeticall Railer: as he doth himſelfe by that Epiſtle, and by this bitter Letter.*

d *I willingly pardon all his poeticall railing and falſe Epithites, for that one true word acknowledging Saint Bernard to be deuout.*

trie

trie were one of the deadly ſinnes of their Caſuiſts, I could ſmart for it in my [illegible]: Is this a fit ſcandall to rake vp from ſo farre? What my proficiencie hath beene in ſerious ſtudies, if the Vniuerſitie and Church hath pleaſed to teſtifie: what neede I ſtand at the mercie of [e] *a fugitiue*. But if any *of* [f] *his Maſters* ſhould vndertake me in the cauſe of God, he ſhould finde I had ſtudied proſe. As for theſe vaine flouriſhes of mine, if he had not taken a veny in them, and found it ſmart, he had not ſtrooke again ſo [g] *churliſhly*? Was it my Letter that is accuſed of Poetry? there is neither number, nor ryme, [h] *nor fiction* in it: Would the great Schoole-man haue had me to haue packt vp a Letter of ſyllogiſmes? which of the Fathers (whoſe high ſteppes I haue deſired to tread in) haue giuen that example? what were to be expected of a *Monitorie Epiſtle* which intended onely the occaſion if he had pleaſed of a future diſcourſe? Wee Iſlanders; [i] *liſt not learne* to write Lettters from beyond the Pyrenees. Howſoeuer, I am not ſorry that his ſcorne hath caſt him vpon an aduerſarie more able to conuince him; I am allowed onely a looker on; therefore I will neither ward nor ſtrike; his hands are too full of you: my onely wiſh is, that you could beate him ſound againe; whereof I feare there is little hope. There was neuer aduerſarie that gaue more aduantage: hee might haue ſerued in theſe Coleworts neerer home. I profeſſe I doe hartily [k] *pitie*

e *Pardon for S. Bernards ſake.*

f *A braue man at armes, &c.*

g *Pardon for S. Bernards ſake.*

h *I would there were not.*

i *Satis pro imperio.*

k *This appeares by your railing on him, as hee not ſweare.*

that iuſtified himſelfe from ſweating, by lowd ſweating By God *hee did him;*

him; and so if it please you let him know from me. What *Apostacie* (which is the onely hard word I can be charged with) I impute to the *Roman Church* I haue professed to the world in the first Chapter of my *Roma Irreconciliabilis*: if I offend not in *too much charitie*, there is no feare: say what you will for me, I haue done, and will onely pray for him that answers me with contempt: farewell, and commend mee to Master *Sotheby*, and your other louing and reuerend Societie; and know mee euer,

Your truely louing friend

and fellow labourer,

Waltam. Iun. 10. 1615.

Ios. Hall.

1 *This were to proue one absurdity by a greater & to vndertake that some one Text of Scripture is false or forged because all the whole Bible is so: Or hauing called one a Iew or Bastard &c. to make him amends by telling him all his kinred were such. But that Booke and Chapter is indeede pittifully professed: And by it and by insinuating here an offence of too much charitie may be easily perceiued the substance of your proficiencie in Diuinitie.*

Good Master *Bedell*, this Letter hath lien thus long by me for want of carriage. I now heare you are setled at *Hemingsherth*, whereby I wish you much ioy. I am appointed to attend the Ambassador into *France*, whither I pray you follow me with your praiers.

May 15.

To my Reuerend and worthy friend Master Doctor HALL, at *Waltham* deliuer this.

SAlutem in Christo. *Good Master Doctor, this Letter of yours since my receipt of it, hath beene a traueller, further then you or I; which being some moneths since returned into* England, *I returne to you that it may relate what entertainment it hath found in forraine parts. It is now a yeare and more that I receiued a Letter from Master* Waddesworth, *challenging an old debt of me, an answere to his Letters which occasioned this of yours. I wrote backe, and among other things enclosed this your Letter, which he hath censured as you see. His answere by reason of the sicknesse of the Gentleman that brought it, first at* Paris, *and after at* Bruxels *came not to me till the latter end of May, and now lately another I receiued from him, wherein he desires a Copie both of your* Text *and his* Glosse, *as he cals it, as hauing reserued none for haste. I haue not yet sent him my answere to his* Motiues *which hath long layen by me for lacke of leisure to copie it out, and meanes safely to conuey it, being well towards a quire of Paper. My auncient fault, tediousnesse. But the Gentleman that brought me his former Letter, hath vndertaken ere long to consigne it into his hands. Therein I endeauour to vse him with the best respect I can deuise, onely oppugning the Papacy*

and

and Court of Rome. Now Sir, that which I would entreate of you, is this: You know the Precept of the Apostle touching them that are fallen, lend me your hand to set him in ioynt againe. And be pleased not onely not to reflect vpon the weakenesse of his Glosse, but not so much as vpon the strength of his stomacke: though that bee also weakenesse, as Saint Augustine *well cals it,* *infirmitas animositatis. *Writ a letter to him in the Character* βλασφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν. *Which shall either goe with mine, or be sent shortly after. Who can tell what God may worke? Surely, at least we shall heape coales of fire vpon his head. Although if all be true that I heare, it is not to be despaired but he may be deliuered out of the snare of error, the rather because he hath not that reward or contentment which he expected. He liues now at* Madrid *with the Persian Ambassador Sir* Robert Sherly, *and hath good maintenance from him, being as his* Steward, *or Agent. The kinde vsage of his ancient friends, may perhaps bring him in loue with his countrie againe, &c. This for that businesse. Now, &c.*

* The weakenesse of a stout heart. 1. Cor. 4. 13.

October 2. 1620.

To the worshipfull my very good friend Master IAMES WADDESWORTH at *Madrid* deliuer this.

Salutem in Christo Iesu.

SIr, I receiued by *Master* Fiſton *your letters of the eight of Iune, and as I hope ere this time you vnderſtand, the former which I mention in them: to which I wrote in anſwere, and deliuered the ſame to Maſter* Aſton *the* 15. *of the ſame Moneth. Doctor* Hals *letter with your* marginall Notes *which in your laſt you require, I ſend you herein enclоſed. Though if I may perſwade or intreate you both, neither ſhould the* Text *nor* Gloſſe *make you multiply any more words thereabout. Vpon the receipt of your Letter I ſpake with Maſter* Aſton, *who told me that he held his reſolution for* Spaine, *whereupon I reſolued alſo to ſend by him mine anſwer to your firſt: as thinking it better to doe it more ſafely, though a little later, then ſooner, with leſſe ſafetie. And here Sir at length you haue it. Wherein as to my* moderation *for the manner, I hope you ſhall perceiue that ſetting aſide our difference in opinion, I am the ſame to you that I was when we were either* Schollers *together in* Emmanuell Colledge, *or* Miniſters in Suffolke. *For the* ſubſtance, *I doe endeauour ſtill to write to the purpoſe, omitting nothing materiall*

in

in your Letters. If ſometimes I ſeeme ouerlong, and perhaps to digreſſe ſomewhat from the principall point more then was neceſſary, I hope you will pardon it, ſith you required a full anſwere, and the delay it ſelfe had neede to bring you ſome intereſt for the forbearance. And becauſe you mention the vehemencie of diſcreete Lawyers (although me thinkes we are rather the Clients themſelues, that contend, ſince our faith is our owne and our beſt freehold) let me entreate of you this ingenuitie) which I proteſt in the ſight of God I bring my ſelfe.) Let vs not make head againſt euident reaſon, for our owne credit, or faſhion, and factions ſake, as Lawyers ſometimes are wont. Neither let vs thinke we looſe the victory, when truth ouercomes. We ſhall haue part of it rather, and the better part, ſince errour the common enemy to vs both, is to vs more dangerous. For truth is ſecure and impregnable; we, if our Errour be not conquered, muſt remaine ſeruants to corruption. It is the firſt praiſe, ſaith Saint Auguſtine, to hold the true opinion, the next to forſake the falſe. And ſurely that is no hard maſterie to doe, when both are ſet before vs, if we will not be either retchleſſe, or obſtinate. From both which our Lord of his mercy euermore helpe vs, and bring vs to his euerlaſting Kingdome. Amen.

Horningſhearth, Octo. 22. 1620.

Yourvery louing Brother

W. Bedell.

THE COPIES OF CERTAINE LETTERS, &c.

Salutem in Chriſto Ieſu.

CHAP. I.

Of the Preamble. The titles Catholique, Papiſt, Traytor, Idolater.

SIr, I doe firſt returne you heartie thankes, for the truth and conſtancie of your loue, and thoſe beſt effects of it, your *wiſhing mee as well as to your ſelfe*, and *reioycing in my ſafe returne out of Italy*. For indeede further I was not: though reported to haue beene both at Conſtantinople and Ieruſalem, by reaſon of the neerneſſe of my name to one Maſter *William Bidulph*, the Miniſter of our Merchants at Aleppo, who viſited both thoſe places.

I thanke you alſo, that your ancient loue towards mee, hath (to vſe that word of the Apoſtle) now flouriſhed againe, in that after ſo many yeeres, you haue found opportunitie to accompliſh your promiſe of writing to mee: though not as ye vndertooke of the ſtate of Religion there, yet

yet which I confeſſe I no leſſe deſired, the Motiues of the forſaking that you had profeſſed here. Whereof ſince it hath pleaſed you, as yee write, *now to giue mee an account, and by me to Maſter Doctor Hall*, with ſome expectation alſo as it appeares of reply from one of vs, I will vſe the libertie which you giue me, and as directly as I can for the matter, and in Chriſtian termes for the manner, ſhew you mine opinion of them, wherein I ſhall endeauour to obſerue that Precept of the Apoſtle; ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, whether it be to be interpreted, *louing ſincerely*, or *ſeeking truth louingly*. Neither ſoothing vntruth for the dearneſſe of your perſon, nor breaking charitie for diuerſitie of opinion. With this entrance, my louing friend, and if you refuſe not that old Catholike name, my deare brother, I come to your Letter. Wherein though I might well let paſſe that part which concernes your quarrell with Maſter Doctor *Hall*, with *atatem habet*; yet thus much out of the common preſumption of charitie, which thinkes not euill, giue mee leaue to ſay for him, I am verily perſwaded he neuer meant to charge you with Apoſtaſie in ſo horrible a ſenſe as you count, *viz. a totall falling from Chriſtian Religion, like that of* Iulian, *an obſtinate pertinacy in denying the principles of the Faith neceſſarie to ſaluation, or a renouncing your Baptiſme.* The terme *Apoſtaſie*, as you know, doth not alwaies ſound ſo hainouſly. A Monke forſaking his Order, or a Clerke his habit, is in the Decretals ſtiled an Apoſtata. *Grouſtenſis* ſaith not vntruly, that euery deadly ſinne is a kinde of Apoſtaſie. The Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſpeaking of Antichriſts times, ſaith, there muſt come an *Apoſtaſie* before Chriſts ſecond comming: and how this ſhall be he ſhewes elſewhere. *Men ſhall giue heede to ſpirits of error, and doctrines of Deuils, and ſuch as ſpeake falſehood in hypocriſie.* Whereby it ſeemes that Antichriſt himſelfe ſhall not profeſſedly renounce Chriſt and his Baptiſme. His Kingdome is a myſterie of iniquitie; a reuolt therefore, not from the outward profeſſion, but inward ſinceritie and power of the

Goſpell

Gospel. This kinde of Apostasie might bee that which Master *Hull* was sory to finde in you, whom hee thought fallen from the truth, though not in the principles of Christian doctrine, yet in sundry conclusions which the reformed Churches truely out of them maintaine. He remembred our common education in the same Colledge, our common oath against Popery, our common calling to the same sacred function of the Ministery, he could not imagine vpon what reasons you should reuerse these beginnings. And certainly, how weightie and sufficient soeuer they be, wee are not taught by our Catholicke religion to reuenge our selues, and render reproch for reproch with personall termes; much lesse to debase and auile the excellent gifts of God, as is Poëtie, the honour of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, by the testimony of the holy Ghost himselfe. These courses are forbidden vs when wee are railed vpon, and calumniated; how much more when as Saint *Peter* speakes, *wee are beaten for our faults*; as it falls out in your case, if these motiues of yours be weake and insufficient; which we shall anon consider.

You say, *you are become Catholicke.* Were you not then so before? The Creed whereinto you were baptized, is it not the Catholicke faith? The conclusion certes of *Athanasius* Creed, which is but a declaration thereof, saith, *Hæc est fides Catholica.* Or is not he a Catholick that holds the Catholicke faith? That which was once answered, touching the present Church of England, to one in a Stationers shop in *Venice*, that would needs know what was the difference betwixt vs and the Catholickes. It was told him none: for we accounted our selues good Catholicks. When he vnwilling to bee put of in his answer, for lacke of due forme in his question, pressed to know what was the difference betwixt vs and them there. He was answered, This; that wee beleeued the Catholicke faith contained in the Creed, but did not beleeue the thirteenth Article which the Pope had put to it. When he knew not of

This is the Catholike Faith.

any ſuch Article; the Extrauagant of *Pope Boniface* was brought, where hee *definet it to bee altogether of neceſſitie to ſaluation, to euery humane creature to bee vnder the Biſhop of Rome.* This thirteenth Article, of the thirteenth Apoſtle, good Maſter *Wadeſworth*, it ſeemes you haue learned; and ſo are become, as ſome now ſpeake and write *Catholike Romane.* That is in true interpretation *Vniuerſall-particular*; which becauſe they cannot bee equalled, the one reſtraining and cutting off from the other, take heed that by ſtreightning your faith to *Rome*, you haue not altered it, and by becomming *Romane*, left off to bee *Catholike.*

Thus, if you ſay, *our anceſtors were all till of late yeers.* Excuſe mee Sir, whether you call our anceſtors the firſt Chriſtian Inhabitants of this Ile, or the ancient Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church; neither thoſe, nor theſe were Roman-Catholikes; Namely, the Fathers of the *African* Councell, and amongſt theſe Saint *Auguſtine*: and therefore by *Pope Boniface* his ſentence bee vndoubtedly damned, for taking vpon them, by *the Deuils inſtinct* (if wee beleeue another * *Pope Boniface*) to waxe proud againſt the Church of Rome. Such Catholikes, if yee meane *the moſt of Chriſtendome be at this day.* Beware of putting your ſelfe vpon that iſſue. Beleeue mee, either yee muſt frame a new Coſmography, yea, a new world, or elſe yee are gone if it come to moſt voyces in Chriſtendome. Touching the names of *Papiſt*, *Traytor*, *Idolater.* The firſt is no miſ-calling you, as comprizing the very character that differenceth you from all other Catholikes. Neither by our Rhemiſts aduice ſhould you be aſhamed of it, ſith to be a Papiſt, by their interpretation *is nothing elſe, but to bee a Chriſtian man, a childe of the Church, and ſubiect to Chriſts Vicar.* The wiſe State of *Venice* haue a little different notion of their *Papalines*, excluding from ſundry their conſultations vnder that name, ſuch of the Nobilitie as are obliged to the Pope by Eccleſiaſticall promotions. True

* *Bonifac. 2. Epiſt. ad Eulalium.*

Annot. in Acts. 1. 26.

it is that they apply it alſo to *Papalines in faction*, ſuch as are ſuperſtitiouſly deuoted to the maintaining of all the Popes vſurped authoritie; in which ſenſe I hope you are no Papiſt.

A *Traytor* I am aſſured Maſter Doctor *Hall* will neuer call you, vnleſſe hee know that you haue drunke ſo deepe of the Cup of error, as to beleeue the Pope may depoſe your Prince; that you are not bound to obey him being ſo depoſed; that in that caſe, it is lawfull, yea, meritorious to kill him; that they are Martyrs that are executed for plotting to blow him vp with Gun-powder, though vndepoſed; hoping it would bee no leſſe agreeable to his Holineſſe, then (that which hee deſired) to haue kept him from comming to the Crowne at firſt. If you be thus perfectly a Papiſt, not onely wee here in England, but I beleeue his Catholicke Maieſtie, vnder whoſe obedience now ye liue, whenſoeuer he ſhould be that Prince, would account you a Traytor, and puniſh you accordingly. I hope you are farre from theſe furies.

For *Idolatry*, if to giue diuine honour to creatures, deſerue that name, conſider how you can defend or excuſe thoſe prayers to the Bleſſed Virgin, *Tu nos ab hoſte protege, & hora mortis ſuſcipe.* And to the Croſſe, *Auge pijs iuſtitiam reiſque dona veniam*: I omit to ſpeake of the Popes *Omnipotencie*. I hope alſo you keepe your ſelfe from this Idolatry.

In Proteſtant religion, you ſay, *you could neuer finde Vniformitie of a ſettled Faith.* How ſo? when you had that ſame * *one onely immoueable and vnreformable rule of faith*, as *Tertullian* calls it, euery Lords day recited in your hearing, if not by your mouth. I meane *the Creed*, of which *Irenæus* † ſaith, that *hee which is able to ſay much of the faith exceeds it not, nor hee that leſſe diminiſheth*; which Saint ‡ *Auguſtine* cals *the rule common to great and ſmall*; which might well enough haue *ſettled and quieted your conſcience*, whileſt you laboured to finde the truth in all doubtfull queſtions.

* *De veland Virg. cap.* 1.

† *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

‡ *Epiſt. ad Dardanum.*

stions. Whereto *how carefully and diligently* you vsed the meanes of *reading*, *studying*, *and praying for three or foure yeeres*, God and your conscience best know. For *conferring*, I cannot yeeld you any testimonie, notwithstanding our familiaritie, and that we were not many miles asunder, and you were also priuie, that I had to doe in these controuersies with some of that side, and saw some sample of the worke. I come now to your motiues.

CHAP. II.

Of the Contrarietie of Sects pretended to bee amongst Reformers.

IN the front whereof is the common exception, to our *contrarietie of sects and opinions*, &c. First, what are all these to the Church of England, which followeth none but Christ? Then, if it be a fault of the reformed Churches, that there is strife and diuision amongst them, as who will iustifie it; yet let it finde pardon, if not for *Corinthe* sake, and the Primitiue Churches what time *Themistius* was faine to excuse it with an Oration to *Valens* the Emperour, yet euen for *Romes*: where also you cannot but know, that in very many and most important points, *Diuines* hold one thing and *Canonists* another; The *French*, and lately also the *Venetian* Diuines, resist to his face, him, that others say no man may bee so hardie as to aske, *Domine cur ita facis? though he should draw with him innumerable soules to hell.* Your *Spanish* Prelates and Diuines, would neuer acknowledge in the Councell of *Trent* (the mysteries whereof are come out at last) that Episcopall authoritie was deriued from him, nor consent to that circumuenting clause *Proponentibus Legatis*, &c. and were strong that *residence* is, *de iure diuino*; howsoeuer they were ouerruled by the Italian faction: whether they haue yet changed their mindes, you can better tell then I. The old facti-

1. Cor. 3. 3.
Socrat. l. 4. c. 27.

on

on of the *Thomiſts* and *Scotiſts* is yet a foot, as I perceiue by *Rada* his Controuerſies. In the beginning whereof the Cenſor of the Booke hath this ſentence. *Qua propter audiendi nullatenus ſunt, qui has Theologicas contentiones è medio omnino explodendas arbitrantur.* There is another lately riſen betweene the *Dominicans* and the *Ieſuites*; both in as great matters, and purſued with as great vehemencie, as thoſe of the reformed Churches, excepting onely a few fierie ſpirits of *Saxony*. But in the Church of England, as reformation was not brought in by any one man, but by the ioynt conſent of the whole, ſo it is yet continued. *Lutherans, Zuinglians, Caluiniſts*, are not knowne among vs, ſaue by heareſay. Whereof it is ſome ſigne, that your ſelfe doe not know them well, as it ſeemes, when you diſtinguiſh them from *Proteſtants*. A name firſt giuen to the Princes and free Cities of *Germany*, that ſought reformation in the Diet at *Spire*, *Anno* 1529. and from them paſſed to vs and other Countries where it was effected. Who are then *Proteſtants*, if the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* bee not? For of both theſe there were in that Diet; the *Heluetians* and parts adioyning of Germany, hauing beene reformed at home, firſt by the preaching of *Zuinglius*; the *Saxons*, and the remnant of *Luther*. Who much about one time and without any correſpondence, began to oppoſe the Popes Indulgences, and differed not for ought that euer I could yet vnderſtand, ſaue in the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Euchariſt. Yea, in that alſo taught vniformely, that the bodie and bloud of our Sauiour are preſent; not to the Elements, but to the receiuer, in the vſe, and without Tranſubſtantiation. As for thoſe whom you call *Caluiniſts*; and the reſt *Puritanes*, *Cartwrightiſts*, and *Browniſts*, tell mee in good ſooth, Maſter *Wadeſworth*, how doe they differ from the reformed Churches in *Heluetia*, or the Church of *England*, ſaue in the matter of gouernment onely? See then all this contrarietie of Sects meetly well reconciled. For *Puritanes*, *Cartwrightiſts*, and *Browniſts*,

niſts, are in ſubſtance of Doctrine all one with *Caluinists*, and theſe with *Zwinglians*, who were of the firſt *Proteſtants*, and differ litle or nothing from thoſe whom yee call *Lutherans*. Whereof this may bee a ſenſible proofe, that commonly their Aduerſaries and your ſelfe after call them by the ſame name, *the Proteſtant Churches in Germanie, France, Holland, and Geneua*. And Pope *Leo* the tenth in his condemnatorie Bull; and likewiſe *Charles* the fifth in his Imperiall Edict, doe reflect wholly vpon *Luther* and his followers, without any mention of the other at all. To conclude this matter; as it is vndoubtedly a ſigne of a good minde to diſlike contention, and diuerſities of opinions, and it may haue pardon to apprehend ſometimes more then there is indeed; like to the melancholike old man in the Comedie, whoſe ſuſpition makes him to multiply on this manner. *Qui mihi intromiſiſti in ades quinquetos coques*, ſo to muſter vp emptie names, without any reall difference, as *Puritans, Cartwrightiſts, Browniſts*; to make *differences* in a few opinions about *Gouernment* or *Sacraments, Sects and contrarieties*, hath not the character of ingenuous and ſincere dealing, which from you Maſter *Waddeſworth*, I did and doe expect.

Plaut. Aulular.

But *ſome of theſe damne each other, auouching their Poſitions to be matters of Faith, not Schoole queſtions of opinion only*. Here indeed there is fault on all ſides in this Age, that we cannot be content with the bounds which the ancient Church hath ſet, but euery priuate opinion muſt be ſtraightwayes an Article of Faith. Euery deciſion of a Pope, euery Decree of a Councell. And then as men are eaſily enamored of their owne conceits, and as *Gerſon* wiſely applies that of the Poet, *Qui amant ſibi ſomnia fingunt*; as if the very marrow of Religion conſiſted in thoſe points, thoſe that thinke otherwiſe are Heretikes, and in ſtate of damnation. The Roman faction goes further, to Fire and Faggot, and all exquiſite torments, as if thoſe things that make againſt the Papacie, were more ſeuerely to bee puniſhed

niſhed then the blaſphemies of the Iewes, or Mahumetiſme it ſelfe. I doe not excuſe the reformers of this bitterneſſe, wherein after your departure out of England, my nameleſſe Aduerſarie that vnder-tooke Maſter *Alablaſters* quarrell, giuing me ouer in three of his demands, ran riot in the firſt, about this point of *oppoſition among our ſelues*, and raked together all the vehement ſpeeches of *Luther*, and ſome of his followers, againſt thoſe whom they call *the Sacramentaries*. Why, who will vndertake to defend *Luthers* ſpeeches, or all that falls from contentious pens? But euen out of thoſe teſtimonies, which himſelfe brings for the worſt that hee could on the contrarie part; it appeares, this eagreneſſe is not mutuall. And in truth, both we in *England*, and the *Helueticians*, and *French*, doe maintaine a brotherly affection towards them of *Saxonie*, how ſpitefully ſoeuer ſome of them write of vs. And euen of thoſe whom he calls *Lutherans*, as I perceiued while I was at *Norimberg*, the moderater ſort are alike affected towards vs. But as touching the auouching our opinions to be matters of Faith (which exception is common to you with him) that which I ſhould haue anſwered him, if I had found in him any thing but ſpite and ſcorne, I will ſay now to you. Verily in ſome ſort euen the leaſt concluſions in Diuinitie are *matters of Faith*. For both Faith hath to doe with them, and they are fetched by diſcourſe, from the firſt Principles holden by Faith, whence our whole Religion is called by Saint *Iude*, *the Faith* once deliuered to the Saints. And the leaſt error in them, by conſequence ouerthrowes the ſame principles whence they are deduced. That makes ſome, to mooue attention in their Readers to ſay, *The queſtions are not about ſmall matters, but of the principall Articles of Religion, euen about the foundation.* As *Curaus* whom he cites, ſaith, the queſtion is of two *Articles of Faith*. Firſt, *of that which teacheth that in Chriſt two natures are vnited*. Secondly, *of the Article, He aſcended into Heauen*. Why? doe not both ſides agree to theſe? Yes.

But

But one ſide fetches arguments againſt vbiquitie from theſe places, and thereupon ſaith, the queſtion is about theſe Articles; perhaps alſo chargeth the other to denie them. Hee cites *Pappus* writing thus, *Agitur inter nos de Omnipotentia Dei, &c. The controuerſie betwixt vs, is about the Omnipotencie of God. The perſonall vnion of the two natures in Chriſt. The communication of properties. The glorious body of our Sauiour, &c.* Loe againe, euery place of argument or defence is made the matter of Controuerſie. Out of theſe and ſuch like confeſſions on either ſide, my nameleſſe Aduerſarie will needes enforce, with great pompe and triumph; what thinke yee? *That ſuch ſanctified men* (this is his ſcoffing language) *goe not together by the eares for Mooneſhine in the water.* Againe, *That all thoſe Myrmidonian fights and bloudie encounters bee not de lanâ Caprinâ aut de vmbrâ aſini*——Why, who ſaid they were? I will ſet downe here my wordes, that you may iudge of the conſcience of this man, and haue with all the ſubſtance of my anſwere to this obiection. *And what if ſome outragious ſpirits on each ſide, tranſported with paſſion in their oppoſitions, haue vſed moſt bitter and vnbeſeeming ſpeeches to their Aduerſaries, and ſometimes haue ſhewed each other ſmall humanitie; are you ſo ſimple as not to diſcerne betweene the choller of ſome few opinionate men, and the conſequence of their opinions? Haue you forgotten Saint* Hierome *and* Ruffinus *deadly foe-hood, which was rung ouer the world? or* Epiphanius *and* Chryſoſtomes, *or* Victors *and the Greeke Biſhops? which proceeded ſo farre about a trifle, that hee excommunicated them; which is little leſſe I thinke then to condemne to the pit of Hell. And yet if I ſhould put it to your iudgement, I am perſwaded you would grant they held all truth neceſſarie to ſaluation. For you muſt remember Pope* Boniface *had not yet coyned the new Article of the Faith, that I mentioned before. What ſhall I ſpeake of Saint* Paul *and* Barnabas, *which grew to ſuch bitterneſſe, and that about a very little queſtion of conueniency, that though they were ſent out together by the Holy Ghoſt, they brake off companie.*

Theſe

Theſe be humane paſſions, which wiſedome would we ſhould pitie, when they grow to ſuch extremities, vpon ſo ſmall cauſe; rather then from their outrage to gather there is iuſt cauſe to encreaſe. Doe we not ſee that euen naturall brethren doe ſometimes deſie one another, and vſe each other with leſſe reſpect then ſtrangers? Now from hence would you conclude they bee not brethren; and hearten them on, and ſay to the one, that ſith his halfe brother is not ſo neere to him, as he with whom he is thus at oddes, hee muſt fall out worſe with him. You ſhould well ſo deſerue the hate of God, for a make-bate betweene brethren. Theſe were all my wordes ſet downe in anſwere to his obiecting *our owne contentions* and *condemning each other*, to proue that therefore we could not hold continuitie with the ancient Church of England, from which we diſſented much more. I held as you may perceiue, that neither amongſt our ſelues, nor from our predeceſſors wee diſagree in any truth neceſſarie to ſaluation. Hee makes me to ſay, *our diſſentions are about Moone-ſhine, and* de vmbrâ aſini, & de lanâ caprinâ, *and trifles, and matters of no conſequence.* To returne to you, good Maſter *Waddeſworth*, let men auouch as conſidently as they will touching their owne poſitions, *Eſt de Fide. Nihil certius apud Catholicos*, and of their contraries crie out, *They are Heretikes, renew ancient hereſies, race the foundation, denie the Articles of the Creede, Gods omnipotency, &c.* all becauſe themſelues by diſcourſe, can (as they thinke) faſten ſuch things vpon them: A ſober Chriſtian muſt not giue heede to all that is ſaid in this kinde. Theſe things muſt be examined with right iudgement, and euer with much charitie, and patience, remembring that our ſelues know in part, and propheſie in part. In a word, this ſhould not haue ſo much diſquieted you.

Nor yet that which you adde, *That euery one pretends Scripture. Beſt of all*, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*, *For if wee ſhould ſay we beleeue humane reaſons, thou mighteſt with good reaſon be troubled, but when as we receiue the Scriptures, and they bee ſimple and true, it will bee an eaſie thing for them to* *Hom. 33. in Act.*

iudge, &c. And to what purpose indeed serues the facultie of reason perfected and polished with learning? wherefore the supernaturall light of Faith? wherefore the gift of God in vs Ministers conferred by the imposition of hands? but to trie which side handles the Word of God deceitfully, which sincerely. But here againe, *Each side arrogates the Holy Ghost in his fauour.* What then? If wee our selues haue *the anointing*, we shall be able as we are bidden *to trie the spirits, whether they bee of God or no?* For wee will not beleeue them, because they say they haue the Spirit, or cannot bee deceiued, but because their Doctrine is consonant to the principles of heauenly Truth, which by the writings inspired by himselfe, the Holy Ghost hath grauen in our hearts. Which writings are well acknowledged by you, *to be the Law and Rule, according whereunto, in iudgement of Religion we must proceede.*

1. *Ioh.* 2. 20. 27. & 4. 1.

CHAP. III.

Of the want of a humane externall infallible Iudge and Interpreter.

AS to that you say, *did aboue all trouble you, the want of a certaine humane externall infallible Iudge to interpret Scripture, and define Questions of Faith without error.* What if you found not an externall humane Iudge, if you had an internall diuine one? And hauing *an infallible Rule* by which your humane Iudge should proceede, why should you trust another mans applying it, rather then your own, in a matter concerning your owne saluation? But if God haue left vs no such externall Iudge, if Antiquitie knew none, if Religion neede none, it was no iust motiue to leaue vs, that you could finde none, amongst all those Sects which you mention. And how much lesse if you haue not awhit amended your selfe where you are; which we shall consider by and by:

I say

I say then first, that to make this your motiue of any moment, it must be shewed, that God hath appointed such a Iudge in his Church. Let that appeare out of some passage of holy Scripture. For your conceit or desire that such a Iudge there should be, to whom you might in conscience obey, and yeeld your selfe, because he could not erre, doth not proue it. You would know the Truth, onely by the authoritie, and sole pronouncing of the Iudges mouth. A short and easie way, which to most men is plausible, because it spares the paines of studie and discourse. To such especially, as either out of weakenesse dare not trust their owne iudgement, or account it shall haue the merit of humilitie, to bee led by their Teachers. But what now if God will haue you *call no man your Father vpon earth?* If he will send you to his Word? and after you haue receiued the Faith by the Churches testimonie out of the easie and plaine places thereof, bid you *search the Scriptures*, to finde the Truth in the remnant, and pick it out by your owne industrie. The rich man being in hell torments (in whose wordes I doubt not but our Sauiour doth impersonate and represent the conceits of many men liuing in this world) presumes that if one were sent from the dead his Kinsmen would hearken to him, but he is remitted *to Moses and the Prophets*. The *Iewes* as I perceiued by speech with some of them at *Venice*, make it one of their motiues, that our Lord Iesus is not the Christ. *He should not*, say they, *haue come in such a fashion, to leaue his owne Nation in doubt and suspence; and scandalize so many thousands; but so as all men might know him to be what he was.* Miserable men! that will giue lawes to God. Of which fault be you aware also (good Master *Waddesworth*) and be content to take, not to prescribe the meanes by which you will be brought vnto the knowledge of the Truth: to vse what hee hath giuen, not to coniecture and diuine what he must giue. *Luke 16.*

But God failes not his Church in such meanes as be ne-

ceſſarie. Let vs therefore conſider the neceſſitie of this Iudge. Where I beſeech you conſider (for I am ſure you cannot but know it) that *all things neceſſary to ſaluation are euidently ſet downe in holy Scripture?* This both the Scriptures themſelues doe teach, and the Fathers auouch, namely Saint *Auguſtine* and Saint *Chryſoſtome*, and others. I forbeare to ſet downe their words, or further to confirme this *Lemma*, which I proued at large againſt another aduerſarie, and ſhall at all times make good if it be queſtioned. Beſides theſe points, there are a great manie other though not of ſuch neceſſitie, yet euidently laid downe alſo in the ſame Scriptures, by occaſion of them. Manie by iuſt diſcourſe may be cleared from theſe, and the former. If any thing yet remaine in ſuſpence, and vnknowne, yea or if you will erred in, ſo it be not wilfully and obſtinately, yet ſhall it be euer without perill of damnation to him that receiueth what the holy Ghoſt hath plainely deliuered. What neceſſitie then of your imaginarie Iudge? Yes: for Vnitie is a goodly thing, not onely in matters neceſſarie, but vniuerſally in all. Controuerſies muſt not bee endleſſe. But how comes it to paſſe then that your Iudge, whoſoeuer hee be, doth not all this while decide the queſtion touching the Conception of the Bleſſed *Virgin*, that is betweene the *Dominicans*, and *Franciſcans*, nor that betweene the *Dominicans* and *Ieſuites* touching *Grace* and *Free-will*, and all other the points that are controuerted in the Schooles; to ſpare contention and time (a precious commoditie among wiſe men) and giue this honour to *Diuinitie* alone, that in it all doubts ſhould be reduced to certainties? Or if it ſeeme no wiſedome to bee haſtie in deciding ſuch queſtions; wherein wittie and learned men are engaged, leaſt in ſtead of changing their opinions, they ſhould fall to challenge not onely the *infallibilitie*, but which were more dangerous the *authoritie* of their Iudge: If it be thought better to leaue ſcope to opinions, oppoſition it ſelfe profitably ſeruing to

the

the boulting out of the truth. If vnitie in all things bee as it ſeemes deſpaired of, by this your *Gellius* himſelfe; why are wee not content with *vnitie in things neceſſary to ſaluation*, expreſly ſet downe in holy Scripture: and anciently thought to ſuffice, reſeruing infallibilitie as an honour proper to God ſpeaking there? Why ſhould it not be thought to ſuffice, that euery man hauing imbraced that neceſſarie truth, which is the rule of our faith, thereby trie the ſpirits whether they be of God or no. If hee meete with auy that hath not that doctrine, receiue him not to houſe, nor ſalute him. If conſenting to that, but otherwiſe infirme or erring, yet charitably beare with him. This for euery priuate man. As for the publike order & peace of the Church, God hath giuen Paſtors and Teachers, that we ſhould not bee carried about with euery winde of doctrine, and amongſt them appointed Biſhops, to command that men teach no other or forraine doctrine, which was the end of *Timothy* his leauing at Epheſus, 1. *Tim.* 1. 3. Then, the Apoſtles themſelues by their example, haue commended to the Church the wholſome vſe of Synodes, to determine of ſuch controuerſies as cannot by the former meanes be compoſed; but ſtill by the holy Scriptures, *the Law or Rule*, as you ſay well, *by which all theſe Iudges muſt proceede.* Which if they doe not, then may they be deceiued themſelues, and deceiue others as experience hath ſhewed, yet neuer bee able to extinguiſh the truth.

Cic. 1. de Legibus.

Epheſ. 4.

Act. 15. 6.

To come to Antiquitie. There is not any one thing belonging to Chriſtian Religion, if wee conſider well, of more importance, then how the puritie of the whole may bee maintayned. The Ancients that write of the reſt of Chriſtian Doctrine, is it not a miracle, had they knowne any ſuch infallible Iudge, in whoſe Oracle the ſecuritie of all, with the perpetuall tranquillitie of the Church is contayned, they ſhould ſay nothing of him? There was neuer any Age wherein there haue not beene hereſies, and ſects:

to which of them was it euer obiected that they had no infallible Iudge? How soone would they haue sought to amend that defect, if it had beene a currant doctrine in those times, that the true Church cannot bee without such an Officer? The Fathers that dealt with them, why did they not lay aside all disputing, and appeale them only to this Barre? Vnlesse perhaps that were the let which Cardinall *Bellarmine* tells the *Venetians*, hindered Saint *Paul* from appealing to Saint *Peter*, *lest they should haue made their Aduersaries to laugh at them for their labour.* Well: howsoeuer the Cardinall hath found out a merrie reason for Saint *Paules* appealing to *Cæsars* iudgement, not *Peters*, lest hee should expose himselfe to the laughter of Pagans: what shall wee say when the Fathers write professedly to instruct Catholike men, of the *forepleadings and aduantages to bee vsed against Heretikes*, euen without descending to triall by Scriptures? or of some *certaine generall and ordinarie way to discerne the Truth of the Catholike Faith from the prophane nouelties of heresies?* Had they knowne of this infallible Iudge, should wee not haue heard of him in this so proper a place, and as it were in a cause belonging to his owne Court. Nay, doth not the writing it selfe of such bookes shew, that this matter was wholly vnknowne to Antiquitie? For had the Church beene in possession of so easie and sure a Court to discouer and discard heresies, they should not haue needed to taske themselues to finde out any other. But the truth is, infallibilitie is, and euer hath beene accounted proper to Christs iudgement. And as hath beene said, all necessarie Truth to saluation hee hath deliuered vs in his Word. That Word, himselfe tells vs, shall iudge at the last day. Yea, in all true decisions of Faith, that Word euen now iudgeth. *Christ iudgeth, the Apostle sits Iudge. Christ speakes in the Apostle.* Thus Antiquitie.

Risposta ad vna lettera, &c.

Tertull. de Præscript. &c.

Vincent. Lyrinens.

Neither

Neither are they moued a whit with that obiection: *That the Scriptures are often the matter of Controuerſies.* For in that caſe the remedie was eaſie which Saint *Auguſtine* ſhewes *to haue recourſe to the plaine* [a] *places, and manifeſt ſuch* [b] *as ſhould need no interpreter*: for ſuch there bee, by which the other may bee cleered. The ſame may be ſaid, if ſometimes it be queſtioned, *which bee Scriptures, which not.* I thinke it was neuer heard of, in the Church, that there was an externall infallible Iudge, who could determine that queſtion. Arguments may be brought from the conſent or diſſent with other Scriptures, from the atteſtation of Antiquitie, and inherent ſignes of diuine authoritie, or humane infirmitie: but if the Auditor or Aduerſarie yeeld not to theſe, ſuch parts of neceſſitie muſt needes be laid aſide. If all Scripture be denied (which is as it were *exceptio in iudicem ante litis conteſtationem*) Faith hath no place, onely Reaſon remaines. To which I thinke it will ſcarce ſeeme reaſonable, if you ſhonld ſay, *though all men are liers, yet this Iudge is infallible; and to him thou oughteſt in conſcience to obey and yeeld thy vnderſtanding in all his determinations, for hee cannot erre.* No not if all men in the world ſhould ſay it. Vnleſſe you firſt ſet downe there is a God, and ſtabliſh the authoritie of the bookes of holy Scripture, as his voyce, and thence ſhew if you can, the warrant of this priuiledge.

Where you affirme, *the Scriptures to be the law and the rule, but alone of themſelues cannot bee Iudges*; if you meane, without being produced, applied, and heard; yee ſay truth. Yet *Nicodemus* ſpake not amiſſe, when hee demanded, *Doth our law iudge any man, vnleſſe it heare him firſt?* hee meant the ſame which Saint *Paul*, when hee ſaid of the high Prieſt, *thou ſitteſt to iudge me according to the law*: and ſo doe we when wee ſay the ſame. Neither doe wee ſend you *to Angels, or God himſelfe immediately*, but ſpeaking by his ſpirit in the Scriptures, and (as I haue right now ſaid) alledged, and by diſcourſe applied to the matters in queſtion.

[a] *Lib. de Vnitate.*

[b] *Eccleſ. c. 5. §. 19.*

Ioh. 7. 51.

queſtion. As for *Princes*, ſince it pleaſed you to make an excurſion to them, if wee ſhould make them infallible Iudges, or giue them authoritie to decree in religion as they liſt, *as Gardiner did to King Henry the eight*, it might well bee condemned for monſtrous, as it was by *Caluin*. As for the purpoſe, *Licere Regi interdicere populo vſum calicis in Cœna. Quare? Poteſtas. n. ſumma eſt penes Regem*, quoth *Gardiner*. This was to make the King as abſolute a Tyrant in the Church, as the Pope claimed to bee. But, *that Princes which obey the truth, haue commandement from God, to command good things, and forbid euill, not onely in matters pertaining to humane ſocietie, but alſo the religion of God*, this is no new ſtrange doctrine, but *Caluins*, and ours, and S. *Auguſtines*, in ſo many words. And this is all the Head-ſhip of the Church wee giue to Kings. Whereof a Queene is as well capable as a King, ſince it is an Act of *authoritie*, not Eccleſiaſticall *Miniſtery*; proceeding from eminencie of power, not of knowledge, or holineſſe. Wherein not onely *a learned King*, as ours is, but a good old woman (as Queene *Elizabeth*, beſides her Princely dignitie was) may excell as your ſelues confeſſe, your infallible Iudge himſelfe. But in *power* hee ſaith, hee is aboue all: which not to examine for the preſent, in this power Princes are aboue all their ſubiects I trow; and Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith plainly, *to command and forbid, euen in the religion of God*, ſtill according to Gods Word, which is the touchſtone of good and euill. Neither was *King Henry the eight*, the firſt Prince that exerciſed this power, witneſſe *Dauid*, and *Salomon*, and the reſt of the Kings of Iudah before Chriſt. And ſince that Kings were Chriſtians, *the affaires of the Church haue depended vpon them, and the greateſt Synodes haue beene by their Decree, as Socrates* expreſſly ſaith. Nor did King *Henry* claime any new thing in this Land, but reſtored to the Crowne the ancient right thereof, which ſundry his predeceſſors had exerciſed, as our Hiſtorians and Lawyers with one conſent affirme.

Inſtitut. l. 4. c. 20.
Auguſt. contr. Creſcō. l. 3. c. 51.
Proœmio l. 5.

The

The reſt of your induction *of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and whole Clergie in their Connocation houſe, and a Councell of all Lutherans, Caluiniſts, Proteſtants,* &c. is but a needleſſe pompe of words, ſtriuing to win by a forme of diſcourſe, that which gladly ſhall bee yeelded at the firſt demand. They might all erre, if they were as many as the ſand on the ſea ſhoare, if they did not rightly apply the rule of holy Scriptures, by which, as you acknowledge the externall *Iudge*, which you ſeeke, muſt proceed. As to your demand therefore, *how you ſhould be ſure when, and wherein they did, and did not erre; where you ſhould haue fixed your foot?* to forbeare to skirmiſh with your confirmation. (*That though, à poſſe ad eſſe non valet ſemper conſequentia, yet, aliquando valet: &, fruſtra dicitur potentia quæ nunquam ducitur in actum.*) To the former whereof I might tell you, that without queſtion, *nunquam valet:* and to the ſecond, that I can verie well allow, that *errandi potentia*, among Proteſtants be euer *fruſtra*. This I ſay freely, that if you come with this reſolution to learne nothing by diſcourſe, or euidence of Scripture, but only by the meere pronouncing of a humane externall Iudges mouth, to whom you would yeeld your vnderſtanding in all his determinations: if, as the Ieſuites teach their Schollers, you *will wholly deny your owne iudgement*, and reſolue, *that if this Iudge ſhall ſay, that is blacke, which appeares to your eyes white, you will ſay it is blacke too*; you haue poſed all the Proteſtants; they cannot tell how to teach you infallibly. Withall I muſt tell you thus much, that this preparation of minde in a Scholler, as you are, in a Miniſter, yea in a Chriſtian, that had but learned his Creed, much more that had from a childe knowne the holy Scriptures, that *are able to make vs wiſe to ſaluation, through the faith that is in Chriſt Ieſus*, were too great weakeneſſe, and to vſe the Apoſtles phraſe *childiſkneſſe* of vnderſtanding.

Regula 1. & 13.

1. *Tim.* 3. 15.

1. *Cor.* 14. 20.

But *at length you heard a ſound of harmony and conſent, that in the Catholike Church, as in Noahs Arke was infallibi-*

litie, and poſſibilitie of ſaluation; which occaſioned you to ſeeke out, and to enter into this Arke of Noah. The ſound of conſent and infallibilitie is moſt pleaſing and harmonious, and vndoubtedly euer and onely to bee found in the Catholike Church, to wit, in the rule of Faith, and in the holy Scriptures, and ſuch neceſſarie doctrine as perfectly concordeth with the ſame. But as in ſong many diſcords doe paſſe in ſmaller notes, without offence of the eares, ſo ſhould they in ſmaller matters of opinion in the Church, without the offence of iudicious and charitable mindes. Which yet I ſpeake not to iuſtifie them; nay, I am verily of the minde, that this is the thing that hath marred the Church muſicke in both kindes, that too much libertie is taken in deſcant to depart from the gound, and as one ſaith, *nota nimium denigrantur.* The fault of the *Italians*: though they thinke themſelues the onely ſongſters in the world. But to returne to you, tell me, I beſeech you (good Maſter *Wadeſworth*) was this the harmonie that tranſported you. The Pope himſelfe ſaith, *I cannot erre, and to me thou oughteſt to haue recourſe for deciſion of doubts in matters of faith.* And whereas this is not onely denied by Proteſtants, but hath beene euer by the French, and anciently I am ſure by the Spaniſh, lately by ſome Italian Diuines alſo, vnleſſe hee vſe due meanes to finde the truth; yea, whereas it is the iſſue of all the Controuerſies of this age; in this ſnare *you faſtned your foot, this was the Center that ſettled your conſcience, this the ſolid and firme foundation of your faith.* What? and did it not moue you, that ſome limit this infallibilitie of the Pope thus, *if hee enter Canonically, if hee proceed aduiſedly, and maturely, vſing that diligence that is fit to finde out the truth*; that is (as you ſaid before) proceeding by the rule, the Scriptures? Albeit to the Fathers of the *African Councell* it ſeemed incredible (as they write in their Synodall Epiſtle to P. *Cœleſtine* ſtanding for appeales to himſelfe) that God can inſpire the right in triall to one, denying it to many Biſhops in a Councell.

Councell. Tell vs then, who made you ſecure of theſe things? or did you in truth, neuer ſo much as make queſtion of them, but hearing this harmonious ſound; *The Pope is the infallible Iudge*, you truſted the new Maſters of that ſide, *Gregory de Valentia*, and *Bellarmine*, that *whether the Pope in defining doe vſe diligence or no, if hee doe define, hee ſhall define infallibly.* Alas Sir! *if this were the reſt you found for the ſoale of your foot*, inſtead of *moueable water*, you fell vpon mire and puddle; Or rather like to another Doue mentioned in Scripture, *columba ſeducta non habens cor*, by the moſt chaffie ſhrap that euer was ſet before the eyes of winged Fowle, were brought to the doorefall. Excuſe my griefe, mixed I confeſſe with ſome indignation, but more loue to you, though I thus write. Many things there be in *Poperie* inconuenient, and to my conceit weakely and vngroundedly affirmed, to ſay no more; but this is ſo abſurd and palpably a flatterie, as to omit to ſpeake of you, for my part I cannot bee perſwaded that *Paulus* the fifth beleeues it himſelfe. For conſider I pray, what needed anciently the Chriſtian Emperours, and ſometimes at the requeſt of the Biſhops of Rome themſelues, to haue gathered together ſo many Biſhops from ſo diuers parts of the world to celebrate Councells, if it had beene knowne and beleeued then, that one mans ſentence might haue cleered all controuerſies, and put all hereſies to ſilence? How durſt ſundrie holy, and learned men haue reiected his deciſions, whether right or wrong is not now the queſtion, vnchriſtianly out of doubt on their parts, if hee had beene then holden the infallible Oracle of our religion? As when *Polycrates*, with the Biſhops of *Aſia*, and *Irenæus* alſo yeelded not to *Victor*, excommunicating the Eaſterne Churches about the celebration of *Eaſter*, when Saint *Cyprian*, with the firſt Councell of *Carthage* of eightie ſixe Biſhops had decreed, that ſuch as were baptized by heretickes, ſhould bee rebaptized, and certified *Stephanus* of this Decree, and he oppoſed it, and would haue

Analyſt Fidei Cathol. par. 8.

Oſee. 2. 11.

nothing innouated, would *Cyprian* after that haue resisted and confuted *Stephanus* his letter, had he knowne him for infallible? And how doth hee confute him? as *erring, writing impertinently, contrarie to himselfe.* Yea, let it bee obserued, that hee doth not onely not account *Stephanus* infallible, but not so much as a Iudge ouer any Bishop. See the Vote of *Cyprian*, and note those wordes. *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia libertatis & potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium, tanquam iudicari ab alio non possit cum nec ipse possit alterum iudicare. Sed exspectemus vniuersi iudicium Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui vnus & solus habet potestatẽ & præponendi in Ecclesia suæ gubernatione, & de actu nostro iudicandi.* A passage worthy to bee noted also, for the cleering of the independence of Episcopall authoritie from the Pope, which I now let passe. Neither was Saint *Cyprian* herein alone: *Firmilianus*, and the *Easterne* Bishops, resisted *Stephanus* no lesse, as appeares by his Epistle, which in the Romane edition of *Manutius*, set forth by the command of *Pius* the fourth, with the surney of foure Cardinalls, whereof one is now a *Saint, with exquisite diligence*; is wholly left out. And *Pamelius* saith hee thinkes purposely, for himselfe is of the minde that it had beene better it had neuer come forth. But to returne to our purpose. The Fathers of the Councell of *Africke*, and Saint *Augustine* amongst them, resist three Popes succeeding each other, *Zosimus*, *Boniface*, and *Cœlestinus*, about appeales to Rome; shall we thinke they would euer haue done it, if they had knowne or imagined them to be the supreme and infallible Iudges in the Church? I let passe the Schisme betweene the *Greeke* and the *Latin* Church, which had not happened, if this doctrine had beene anciently receiued. Nay, it is verie plaine in storie, that the Bishop of Romes lifting vp himselfe to bee *Vniuersall Bishop* chiefly caused it. To conclude, neither *Liberius*, nor *Honorius*,

Epistola ad Pompeium.

Honorius, to omit many other Biſhops of Rome, had euer beene taxed of hereſie, if this had anciently beene currant, that the Pope is infallible. I will not ſtand now to examine the ſhamefull defence that *Bellarmine* makes for the latter of theſe, bearing downe *Fathers*, *Councells*, *Stories*, *Popes themſelues*, as all falſified or deceiued herein. Wherein becauſe hee is learnedly refuted by Doctor *Raynolds*, I inſiſt not vpon it. This I preſſe, that all thoſe Writers and Councels, and amongſt them Pope *Leo* the ſecond accurſing *Honorius*, did not then hold, that which by *Pighius* and the *Ieſuites* is vndertaken, that the Pope is infallible. Euen the Councell of *Baſil*, depoſing *Eugenius* (for obſtinately reſiſting this truth of the Catholike faith, *That the Councell is aboue the Pope*) as an Heretike, doth ſhew the ſenſe of Chriſtendome euen in theſe latter times how corrupt ſoeuer, both in rule, and practice.

And becauſe you make this infallible Iudge to be alſo *an infallible Interpreter* of holy Scripture, how happens it that *Damaſus* Biſhop of Rome conſults with *Hierome* about the meaning of ſundrie Texts of Scripture, when it ſeems himſelfe might haue taken his pen, and ſet him downe quickly, that which ſhould haue taught both him and the whole Church, not onely without danger but euen poſſibilitie of error? Sure wee are little beholding to the diligence of our Anceſtors, that haue not more carefully regiſtred the *Commentaries* (or becauſe they haue had for ſundrie Ages ſmall time to write iuſt Commentaries) the expoſitions which in their Sermons, or otherwiſe the *Biſhops* of Rome haue made of holy Scripture. A worke which if this Doctrine were true, were more worth then all the Fathers; and would iuſtifie that blaſphemie of the Canon Law, where by a ſhamefull corruption of Saint *Auguſtine*, *the Decretals of Popes are inrolled amongſt the Canonicall Scriptures*. I am alreadie too long in ſo plaine a matter: yet one proofe more which is of all moſt ſenſible. Being admoniſhed by this your conceit of an infallible Interpre-

c. in Canonicis Diſt. 19.

ter, I chanced to turne ouer the Popes Decretals, and obſerued the interpretation of Scriptures. What ſhall I ſay? I finde them ſo leud, and cleane beſide the purpoſe, yea oftentimes ſo childiſh & ridiculous, both in giuing the ſenſe, and in the application, that I proteſt to you in the preſence of God, nothing doth more lothe me of Poperie, then the handling of holy Scripture by your infallible Interpreter alone. Conſider a few of the particulars, and eſpecially ſuch as concerne the Popes owne authoritie. To iuſtifie his exacting an oath of fealtie of an Archbiſhop, to whom he grants the Pall, is brought *our Lord Ieſus Chriſt who committing the care of his Sheepe to Peter, did put too a condition*, ſaying, *Si diligis me paſce oues meas.* Chriſt ſaid, if thou loueſt me feede my ſheepe; Why may not the Pope ſay, If you will ſweare me fealtie, you ſhall haue the Pall. But firſt hee corrupts the Text: Chriſt ſaid not, *If thou loueſt mee:* Then, Chriſt puts not *Peters* loue as a condition of feeding, but feeding as a proofe and effect of his loue. And if the feeding of Chriſts ſheepe were ſought, loue to him and them might ſuffice to be profeſſed, or if he would needs haue more then Chriſt required, to be ſworne. What is this to the oath of fealtie? Straight after to the obiection, that *all oathes are prohibited by Chriſt, nor any ſuch thing can bee found appointed by the Apoſtles after the Lord, or in the Councels*, he vrges the wordes following in the Text, *Sweare not at all; quod amplius eſt à malo eſt*, that is ſaith hee, *Euill compels vs by Chriſts permiſſion to exact more. It is not euill to goe from the Popes obedience? to condemne Biſhops without his priuitie? to tranſlate Biſhops by the Kings commandement?* See the place, and tell me of your Interpreters infallibilitie. Treating of the tranſlation of Biſhops, or ſuch as are elected vnto other Sees, hee ſaith: *That ſince the ſpirituall Band is ſtronger then the carnall, it cannot be doubted but Almightie God hath reſerued the diſſolution of the ſpirituall marriage that is betwixt a Biſhop and his Church, to his owne iudgement alone; charging that whom God hath ioyned man ſeuer not.*

Significaſti de electione.
Ioh.21.15.

Matth.5.34.

Inter corpor. De tranſlatione Epiſcopi.

Matth.19.26.

ons. For it is not by humane but rather diuine power that ſpirituall marriage is diſſolued, when as by tranſlation or ceſſion by the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome (whom it is plaine to bee the Vicar of Ieſus Chriſt) a Biſhop is remoued from his Church. An admirable interpretation of the Text, *Quos Deus coniunxit* ! by which the Pope not onely challengeth that which is proper to Gods iudgement onely, as hee ſaith, *viz.* to diſſolue the bond of ſpirituall wedlock; but becauſe that is the ſtronger, of carnall it ſeemes alſo; when it ſhall pleaſe him.

The anointing of a Prince ſince Chriſts comming *is tranſlated from the head to the ſhoulder, by which Principalitie is ſitly deſigned, according to that which is read,* Factus eſt principatus ſuper humorum eius; *for ſignifying alſo whereof, Samuel cauſed the ſhoulder to be ſet before Saul.* Who ſhould euer haue vnderſtood theſe Texts, if your infallible Interpreter had not declared them? But this is nothing yet to the expoſition of thoſe Texts which the Pope interprets in his anſwere to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, as *Subditi eſtote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, &c.* He tells him that *Saint Peter wrote that to his owne Subiects, to prouoke them to the merit of humilitie. For if he had meant thereby to lay the yoke of ſubiection vpon Prieſts, it would follow that euery ſeruant were to rule ouer them, ſince it is ſaid,* omni humanæ creaturæ. After, *It is not barely ſet downe,* Regi præcellenti, *but there is put betweene, perhaps not without cauſe,* tanquam; *And that which followes,* ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, *is not to bee vnderſtood that the King or Emperor hath receiued the power of the ſword vpon good and euill men; ſaue onely thoſe who vſing the ſword are committed to his iuriſdiction according to that which the Truth ſaith,* They which take the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword. *For no man ought or can iudge anothers ſeruant, ſince the ſeruant according to the Apoſtle ſtandeth or falleth to his owne Lord.* For the loue of God conſider this interpretation, and compare it with Saint *Chryſoſtome* vpon *Rom.*

De ſacra Vnctione. Iſay 9. 6. 1. Sam. 9. 24.

Solicite. De maioritate. 1. Pet. 2. 13.

Verſ. 14.

Matth. 26. 52.

13.

13. Nay doe but reade the Text attentiuely, and iudge of the infallibilitie of your Interpreter. Straight after hee tells the Emperor, *that hee might haue vnderſtood the prerogatiue of Prieſthood out of that which was ſaid, not of euery man but of God, not to the King but to the Prieſt, not to one deſcending of the Royall ſtocke but of the Prieſtly linage of the Prieſts, to wit, which were in Anathot. Behold, I haue ſet you ouer nations and kingdomes, to pull vp, and deſtroy, to build and to plant.* See the prerogatiue of the Prieſthood out of *Ieremies* calling to bee a Prophet. O if hee had beene high Prieſt! This had beene a Text for the nonce. But hee goes on. It is ſaid in Gods Law alſo, **Diis non detrahes, & Principem populi tui non maledices. Which ſetting Prieſts before Kings calls them Gods, and the other Princes.* Compare this expoſition with *Dauids* and *Paules*, *Pſal.* 82. and *Act.* 23. 5. and yee ſhall ſee how the Interpreter hath hit the marke. Againe, yee ought to haue knowne, *quod fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, &c.* See the expoſition, and the difference betweene the Pope and Kings both in the Text and Gloſſe. Now although the Gloſſe writer were no excellent Calculator, yet out of *Clauius* the account may bee cleared: who tells vs the Sunne exceedes the Moone 6539. times and $\frac{1}{2}$. I let paſſe the collection out of *Paſce oues meas*, that *he belongs not to Chriſts fold that doth not acknowledge Peter and his Succeſſors his Maſters and Paſtors:* out of *Quodcunq; ligaueris*, that nothing is excepted. Indeed the Pope excepts nothing, but looſeth Vowes, Contracts, Oathes, the bond of Allegeance and Fealtie betweene Subiects and their Princes: The Commandement of Chriſt, *Drinke yee all of this, &c.* But our Lord expounds himſelfe, *Iohn* 20. *Whoſe ſinnes yee remit, they are remitted, &c.*

Ierem. 1. 10.

Exod. 22. 28. * Thou ſhalt not raile on the Gods, nor curſe the Prince of thy people.

Gen. 1. 16.

Ioh. 21. 16.

Matth. 16. 19.

3 *Ex ore. De his que fiunt, Tit.* 11.

Ex ore ſedentis in throno procedebat gladius bis acutus. This is, ſaith the Pope, *the ſword of Salomon, which cuts on both ſides giuing euery man his owne. Wee then who albeit vnworthy hold the place of the true Salomon, by the fauour of God, doe wiſely exerciſe this Sword, when ſuch cauſes as in our audience*

dience are lawfully canuaſſed, wee doe with iuſtice determine. This interpretation firſt corrupts the Text, for it hath not, out of the mouth of *him that ſate on the Throne*, but that *ſate on the Horſe*; next, it peruerts it, for it is not the ſword of *Iuſtice* but of Chriſts *Word*, which is more *piercing then any two-edged ſword that iſſueth out of his mouth.* As for that of *Iuſtice*, he neuer aſſumed it, but renounced it rather, when hee ſaid. *Man who made mee a diuider to you?* Luk. 12. 14. To proue that in *other Regions beſides the patrimonie of the Church, the Pope doth caſually exerciſe temporall iuriſdiction*, it is ſaid in Deuteronomie, *Si difficile ſit & ambiguum, &c.* And becauſe Deuteronomie is by interpretation the ſecond Law, *Surely by the force of the Word it is proued, that what is there decreed ſhould bee obſerued in the New Teſtament. For the place which the Lord did chooſe is knowne to bee the Apoſtolike See. For when as Peter fleeing went out of the Citie, the Lord minding to call him backe to the place hee had choſen, being asked of him, Lord whither goeſt thou? anſwered, I goe to Rome to bee crucified againe. The Prieſts of the Tribe of Leui are the Popes coadiutors. The high Prieſt or Iudge, he to whom the Lord ſaid in Peter,* Quodcunque ligaueris, &c. *His Vicar who is a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedeck, appointed by God the Iudge of quicke and dead. He that contemnes the Popes ſentence is to bee excommunicated, for that is the meaning of being commanded to be put to death.* Doth not this well follow out of the word *Deuteronomie?* And *Rome* is the *place that Chriſt did chooſe*, becauſe he went, he ſaid, to *bee crucified there.* Onely there is a ſcruple of the high Prieſt, for as much as he that is high Prieſt after *Melchiſedecks* order ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην hath a Prieſthood that paſſes not into another, *Heb.* 7. He addes there, that *Paul* that hee might declare the fulneſſe of power, writing to the Corinthians ſaith: *Know yee not that yee ſhall iudge the Angels?* how much more the things of the world? Is this then the Popes plenitude of Power, to iudge ſecular things? or was *Corinth*

Heb. 4. 12.

4 *Per venerabil. m. Qui filij ſint legitimi. Deut.* 17. 8.

1. *Cor.* 6. 3.

the *Apostolike* See, and so many Popes there euen of the *meanest of the Church?* What shall we say to that exposition of the famous Text. *Tu es Petrus & super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam: The Lord* (he saith) *taking Peter into the fellowship of the vndiuided Vnitie, would haue him to bee called that, which hee was himselfe, that the building of the eternall Temple might by the marueilous gift of God consist in Peters firmenesse.* What is this *vndiuided* Vnitie? Not of the Trinitie, I trow, or Natures in Christ. What then? his office? of which hee said a little before out of the Apostle, that *no man can lay any other foundation but Iesus Christ.* Yes: that *from Peter as a certaine head hee should as it were powre abroad his gifts into his whole body.* That the *Church might stand vpon Peters firmenesse.* This foundation Saint *Paul* knew not, when hee blamed *I am of Cephas. Peters* infirmitie cannot beare vp the weight of such a building, much lesse (which we must remember the Romanists vnderstand by this *Iargon*) the *Popes his Successors.*

Matth.16.18.
Cap. Fundamenta de Elect. in 6.

Ioh.10.16.
Extra. Vnum Testam.

Such another interpretation is that of Pope *Boniface*, that makes *Vnum Ouile & vnus Pastor*, the Church and the Pope. But it is plaine our Sauiour alludes to the prophesies, *Ezek.34.23.* & *37.24.* where the Lord cals that one Pastor *his seruam Dauid.* What blasphemie is this, thus to vsurpe Christs Royalties? What Father, what Councell, what Catholike man euer interpreted this Text on this manner? By which the Pope while hee seekes the name of the Sheepherd, shuts himselfe out of Christs fold?

Cant.4.9.
C. quoniam. De Immunitate.

Yea the same Pope cals the Church *his Spouse* also, and so other Popes since. Saint *Iohn* the *Baptist* tels them, that he that *hath the Bride is the Bridegroome.* Saint *Paul prepared her to one husband Christ.* If shee bee the Popes Spouse with her will, shee is a Harlot: if against her will, hee is a Rauisher, and our Lord Iesus Christ will deliuer her out of his leud embracements, crying out of the violence which shee suffers, as it is to be hoped shortly.

That in the Churches power are two swords, the spirituall and

and temporall, we are taught by the wordes of the Goſpell, ſaith the ſame *Boniface.* For when the Apoſtles ſaid, *Behold, there be two ſwords here* (to wit, in the Church) *when the Apoſtles ſpake thus, the Lord anſwered not that is was too much, but enough. Certainly, hee that denies the temporall ſword to be in Peters power, doth ill obſerue the ſpeech which* our Lord vtters, *Put vp thy ſword into thy ſheath.* No doubt an infallible interpretation; by which it ſhould appeare that both the ſwords that were in our Sauiours companie, hung by Saint *Peters* ſide, or elſe that ſome other had the ſpirituall, leauing none to Saint *Peter,* but that which he might not vſe. The expoſition is Saint *Bernards,* you will ſay. But in an Epiſtle paræneticall to the Pope himſelfe; Saint *Bernard* might haue leaue to vſe alluſions, and after his manner to bee liberall of all that the See of Rome challenged, that he might haue the more authoritie to reforme the abuſes of it. As to grant *Peter* the temporall ſword, but ſo, as hee muſt not vſe it. *Quid tu gladium denuo vſurpare tentes, quem ſemel iuſſus es ponere in vaginam?* and he ſhews how theſe two ſwords bee the Churches. *The one to bee drawne out for the Church, the other alſo by the Church. This by the Prieſts, that by the Souldiers hand, but at the beck of the Prieſt, and bidding of the Emperor.* But the Pope in a Decretall Epiſtle, pretending to teach the world, in a point as he pronounces *neceſſarie to ſaluation,* with ſuch an interpretation as this; argues little reuerence to the Word of God, and a very meane opinion of the iudgements and conſciences of chriſten men, if they could not diſcerne this to be a ſtrangers voice, not Chriſts. Beſides that, he changes Saint *Bernards* wordes, and cleane peruerts his meaning. For, *exerendus,* he puts in *exercendus.* For, *ille Sacerdotis, is militis manu. ſed ſanè ad nutum Sacerdotis & iuſſum Imperatoris.* Pope *Boniface* thinking *iuſſum* to abſolute in the Emperor, makes him to bee the executioner and ioynes him with the Souldier, on this manner. *Ille Sacerdotum, is manu Regum & Militum ſed ad nutum & patien-* Luk. 22. 38.

tiam Sacerdotis. Saint *Bernard* makes the executiue power to be in the Souldier, the directiue in the Priest, the commanding in the Emperor. Pope *Boniface* makes the Kings and Souldiers to haue only the executiue, the directiue & permissiue to be in the Priest. Yea sword, he saith, must be vnder sword. For where the Apostle saith, *There is no power but of God, qua autem sunt, à Deo ordinata sunt*; more fully in the originall text, the *powers that are, are ordained*, that is, appointed *of God*: the Interpreter here dreames of *order* and *subordination*, and cites a saying of *Dionysius*, that *the lowest things are reduced to the highest by the middlemost*; a conceit that makes nothing to the purpose of the Apostle in that place.

Rom. 13. 1.

Hee proceeds and tells vs, that *of the Church and power Ecclesiasticall, is verified the prophecie of Ieremy. Behold I haue set thee this day ouer Kings and Kingdomes, &c.* Tell me, good Master *Wadesworth*, what is to peruert the Scriptures, if this bee not, to apply to the power Ecclesiasticall, that which is spoken of the word and calling Prophetical? Yet more, *The earthly power, if it swerue out of the way shall bee iudged of the power spirituall*, but *if the spirituall, that is lesser; of that which is superiour to it.* But if the highest, it may bee iudged of God onely, not of man, the Apostle witnessing the *spirituall man iudgeth all things, but himselfe is iudged of none.* Wee are come at length, as it were to the fountaines of *Nilus* to the originall of the infallibilitie of your *Iudge*; and if hee haue here rightly interpreted Saint *Paul*, we learne that no earthly power, no Magistrate is a *spirituall* man, vnlesse hee bee one of the Popes *spiritualtie*. For these be Saint *Pauls* spirituall men, that iudge all things. Yet this must receiue limitation. For no man may iudge the Pope, *the supreme Spirituall man*, for of him it seemes Saint *Paul* meant it, his authoritie hee saith is not humane, but *diuine*, by the diuine mouth giuen to *Peter*, and his successors, when the Lord said to him, *Quodcunque ligaueris.*

Ierem. 1. 10.

1. Cor. 2. 15.

For

For conclusion, *whosoeuer resists this power thus ordered of God, resists the ordinance of God, vnlesse as Manichæus he faine two beginnings: which* (saith hee) *wee iudge to bee false and heriticall, sith by Moses record, not in the beginnings, but in the beginning God created Heauen and Earth.* Who would not acknowledge the diuine authoritie and infallibilitie of your Interpreter, both in confirming his purpose, and conuincing heresies from so high a beginning, as this first sentence of holy Writ? What rests now, but after so many testimonies he inferre, *Furthermore, to be vnder the Bishop of Rome we declare, say, define, and pronounce that to euery humane creature it is altogether of necessitie of saluation.* Thus saith your infallible Iudge and Interpreter of Scripture, the center of your conscience, and foundation of your Faith, not as a priuate Doctor, but as Pope, in his owne Law, intending to informe and bind the Church, and that in matters with him of the greatest importance that may bee, touching his owne authoritie, and as hee pretends *absolutely necessarie to saluation, to all the sonnes of Adam.* Rom. 13. 2. Gen. 1. 1.

I might heape vp many more, but these may suffice for a sample. You may (and so doe by your selfe I beseech you) obserue these kind of interpretations in other points also, and in other the Decretals & Breues of Popes; which as I heare, are lately come forth in great volumes. You shall finde many mysteries in your faith, that perhaps you know not of, as, [a] *That you cannot please God because you are married*: for so is that place of the Apostle interpreted, *qui in carne viuunt Deo placere non possunt.* That not onely the *wine* in the Chalice, but the *water also is transubstantiated first into wine, then into Christs blood.* That it was [b] *not watry moisture, but the true element of water which issued out of Christs side.* You shall finde [c] *confession of sins to the Priest*, proued by the text, *Corde creditur ad iustitiam; ore autem fit confessio ad salutem.* [d] That the *good ground, that receiued the seed in the Gospel*, is the religion of the

a Rom. 8. 8. Syricius Epist. 4. & Innocent. Ep. 2.
b Ioh. 19. 34.
c Inter cunctas.
c Rom. 10. 10.
d Matth. 13. 8.

Friers Minors. [e] That this is that *pure and immaculate religion with God and the Father, which descending from the Father of lights, deliuered, exemplariter & verbaliter, by the Sonne, to his Apostles, and then inspired by the holy Ghost, into Saint Francis and his followers, containes in it selfe the testimony of the Trinitie.* This is that, which as Saint *Paul* witnesseth, *no man must be troublesome vnto*, which *Christ* hath confirmed with the prints of his Passion. The text is, [f] *de catero nemo mihi molestus sit, ego. n. stigmata Domini Iesu in corpore nemo porto.* It is maruell, if Saint *Paul* were not of the order of Saint *Frances*. That when Christ said, [*] *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus*, hee meant it *of remaining and being with them euen by his bodily presence.* Saint *Augustine* vpon the same text denies this, and saith, that *according to the presence of his body hee is ascended into heauen, and is not here.* That [g] the *Father of the childe christened*, and his *Godfathers wife may not marry*, because, according to the Lords word, the husband and the wife *are made one flesh by marriage.* [h] That *the number of Foure, doth well agree to the degrees prohibited in corporall marriage*, of which the Apostle saith, *The man hath not the power of his owne body*, but the woman, *nor the woman power of her body, but the man*, because there are foure humours *in the body*, which consist of the foure Elements. For conclusion, you shall finde it by a commodious interpretation concluded, contrarie to many texts of Scripture, out of Scripture it selfe, that [i] no *simple and vnlearned man presume to reach to the subtility of the Scripture*, because well it was enacted in the law of God, that *the beast which should touch the mountaine should be stoned.* For it is written, *Seeke not things higher then thy selfe.* For which cause the Apostle saith, *Be not more wise then it behooueth, but be wise to sobrietie.*

e *Iam.1.27.*

f *Gal.6.17.*

* *Matth.28.20. Loe I am with you, &c.*

Clem.3.de Reliq. Tract.in Ioh 50.

g *C.Martinus De cognat. spirit.4. Mat.19.5.*

h *C. non debet De consang. 1.Cor.7.4.*

i *Cum ex. De hereticis 5. Heb. 12. 20. Exod. 19. 13. Eccles. 3.22. Rom. 12.3.*

One thing more also you shall finde, that now adayes this *spirituall man and sole infallible interpreter of Scripture*, seldome interprets Scripture, or vses it in his *Decretalls* and *Breues*, Nay the stile of his Court hath no manner of

smack

ſmack or ſauour of it. A long compaſſe of a ſentence, intricate to vnderſtand, yea, euen to remember to the end, full of ſwelling words of vanitie, with I know not how many ampliations and alternatiues, after the faſhion of Lawyers in Ciuill Courts, not of ſober Diuines, much leſſe of the Spirit of God in his Word. Some man would perhaps thinke this proceeds from an affectation of greatneſſe, and the deſire of retaining authoritie, which ſeemes to bee embaſed by alledging reaſon, or Scripture, and interpreting texts. For my part, I account it comes as much from neceſſitie. For it is notorious, that neither the Popes themſelues, nor thoſe of the Court the *Secretaries* and *Dataries*, which pen their *Bulls* and *Breues*, haue any vſe or exerciſe in holy Scripture, or ſoundneſſe in the knowledge of Diuinitie, or skill in the originall tongues, wherein Gods Word is written; all which are neceſſarie to an able Interpreter. And therefore it is a wiſe reſeruedneſſe in them, not to intermedle with that wherein they might eaſily fault; eſpecially in a learned age, and wherein ſo many watchfull eyes are continually vpon them. And to this very pouertie and cautelouſneſſe I do impute it, that the preſent Pope in his Breues about the *Oath of Alleageance*, vſeth not a word of Scripture: But tells his faction, that *they cannot without moſt euident and grieuous iniury of Gods honour take the Oath*, the tenor whereof hee ſets downe word for word; and that done, addes. *Quæ cum ita ſint, &c. Which things* (ſaith hee) *ſince they bee ſo, it muſt needs be cleere vnto you out of the wordes themſelues, that ſuch an oath cannot bee taken, with the ſafetie of the Catholike faith, and of your ſoules, ſith it containeth many things which are apparantly contrary to faith and ſaluation.* Hee inſtances in no one thing, brings neither Scripture nor reaſon, but a *Quæ cum ita ſint*, without any premiſſes. Which looſe and vngrounded proceeding, when as it is occaſioned the *Arch-Prieſt* here, and many other of that ſide, to thinke thoſe letters forged, or gotten by ſurreption; hee ſends another

another of the ſame tenor, with this further reaſon. *Hec autem eſt mera pura, integraque voluntas noſtra.* This is now to be more then *an Interpreter*, euen to be *a Lord* ouer the faith of his followers, to make his *will* a *reaſon*. What would ye haue him doe? to alleadge a better he could not, a weake and vnſufficient one he was aſhamed, hee thought, it beſt to reſolue the matter into his ſole authoritie. Whereby he hath proued himſelfe a fallible both *Iudge and Interpreter*, yea a *falſe witneſſe* againſt God and the truth; commanding by the Apoſtle Chriſtian men *to be ſubiect, and to giue euery man their dues, feare to whom feare, honour to whom honour*; and much more (if there be any difference) allegiance to whom allegiance.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the ſtate of the Church of England, *and whether it may be reconciled with* Rome.

BVt of your interpreters infallibilitie enough. Your next doubt, *whether the Church of England were of the true Church or no*, was reſolued with a *Paralogiſme*, partly by reaſon of equiuocation, and diuers acception of the tearmes *the Church, and to erre*, partly *by compoſition and diuiſion* in the connexion of theſe by thoſe Verbes [*can*, or *may*.] Let vs examine the ſeuerall parts of your *Syllogiſme*.

The Propoſition. *The true Church cannot erre*, is confirmed by the *conſent of all*. Extuſe me Sir, if I withhold my conſent, without ſome declaration and limitation. I ſay firſt it muſt bee declared whether you meane *the Catholike Church*, or a *true part of the Catholike Church*. For there is not the like reaſon of theſe to error. Againſt the Catholike Church, *hell gates ſhall not preuaile*; againſt particular, *when Chriſt doth remoue the Candleſticke out of his place*, they doe. Witneſſe the Churches of Africke, ſometimes moſt Catho-

Math.16.

Reuel.2.5.

like,

like. And thus it ſeemes you muſt take this tearme, ſince your doubt was *whether the Church of England be of the true Church or no*, Beſides, I muſt deſire to know, *what manner of errours* you meane; whether *euen the leaſt*, or onely *deadly*, and ſuch as barre from ſaluation, which the Apoſtle cals αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, *hereſies of perdition*, 2 Pet. 2. 1. Take now your owne choiſe; for if you ſpeake of *euery errour*, the propoſition is falſe, euen of the *Catholike Church*, much more of any particular Church. Yea, I adde further, not onely of the Catholike Church *by denomination* from the greateſt part, or by *repreſentation*, as the Paſtors or Prelates thereof met in a *Councill*, which is ſtill the *mixt* Church, but euen that which *is Chriſts true body, whereof he is the Sauiour, and which ſhall be with him for euer*. As for *deadly and damnable errors*, this true and properly called Church, both in the whole and euerie part of the mixt Church, is yet priuiledged from them finally: for *it is kept by the power of God to ſaluation*, it is not *poſſible the Elect ſhould thus be ſeduced*. Truth it is, that by ſuch errors particular viſible aſſemblies, vniuerſally and obſtinately defending them, become falſely called Churches, from which wee are to ſeperate our ſelues. Example in the Synagogue, and in Churches of the Arians. 1 Pet. 1. 5. Mat. 24. 24.

Now let vs ſee your Aſſumption. But *the Church of England, head, and members, King, Clergie, and people, yea a whole Councell of Proteſtants may erre by your owne grant*. I anſwer, the Church of England that is the *Elect* in the Church of England, which onely *are truely called the Church*, can neuer deadly erre. This no Proteſtant will grant yee. The *mixt* Church of England, head, members, King, Clergie, and thereſidue of the people, and a whole Councell of Proteſtants, may erre damnably, and therefore much more fall into leſſer errors. This they grant. And if they ſhall ſo erre obſtinately, they ſhall deſeruedly looſe the name of a *true Church*. But they denie they doe thus erre; yea they denie that they erre *de facto*, at all.

What followes in concluſion? *Ergo, No true Church.* This ſhortneſſe in ſuppreſſing the verbe, would make a man thinke you ment to couer the fault of your diſcourſe. And indeede you might by that meanes eaſily beguile another, but I cannot be perſwaded you would willingly beguile your ſelfe. Sure you were beguiled, if you ment it thus. *Ergo, it is no true Church.* See your Argument in the like: A faithfull witneſſe cannot lye. But *Socrates* or *Ariſtides* may lye by his owne grant. *Ergo,* no faithfull witneſſe. He that ſtands vpright cannot fall: but you *Maſter Waddeſworth* by your owne grant may fall, *Ergo* ſtand not vpright. Perhaps your meaning was, *Ergo, it may become no true Church,* to wit, when it ſhall ſo erre damnably. But then it followes not, *There is now no ſalvation in it, and therefore come out of it now.* When you ſhew that, I ſhall account you haue done wiſely to goe out of it. Shew that in anie one point, and take me with you. In the meane while, for my part, I ſhall ſooner truſt that chapman that ſhall ſay to me, Loe here is a perfect yard, I will meaſure as truely as I can, and when I haue done take the yard and meaſure it your ſelfe; then him that ſhall ſay here is thus much, yee ſhall not neede to meaſure it, but take it on my word: yea though one of his Apprentices ſhould ſtand by and ſay, he could not deceiue mee though hee would; as *Benedictus a Benedictis*, tels the preſent Pope, *Volens nolens errare non potes.*

Where you relate, *your endeauour to defend the Church of England, and tell of the Puritanes reiecting thoſe Arguments you could vſe from the authoritie of the Church, and of the ancient Doctors interpreting Scriptures againſt them, flying to their owne arrogant ſpirit:* I cannot excuſe them for the former, nor ſubſcribe to your accuſation in the latter. Perhaps you haue met with ſome more fanaticall Browniſts or Anabaptiſts, whom here you call Puritans. But theſe that are commonly ſo called, which differ from the Church of England about Church gouernment and ceremonies onely, giue indeede

deede to little to the authoritie of men, how holy, learned, or ancient ſoeuer. Which is their fault, and their great fault, eſpecially in matters of this nature; yet they flye not to their owne ſpirit as you charge them.

That which you adde *that you perceiued the moſt Proteſtants did frame the like euaſions when you came to anſwere the Arguments againſt them on the other ſide*; when you ſhall ſhew this in particulars, I ſhall beleeue it. In the meane while I beleeue you thought ſo; for commonly mediocrities are aggrauated with the hatred, & ſlandered with the names of both extreames. But in the queſtion betweene the Popiſh faction and vs, you might eaſily haue diſcerned why the argument from *bare authoritie*, is not of ſuch validitie. For ceremonies and matters of order may be ordered by wiſe men, & are not the worſe, but the better if they be ancient, yea if they be common to vs with Rome, which Puritans will by no meanes allow. In doctrin, if holy men, yea *if an Angell from heauen* ſhall innouate any thing, wee are not to admit it. Now the controuerſies betweene the Romaniſts and vs, are moſt about doctrine, and they exceede as much in extolling the authoritie of the ancients in their priuate opinions and incommodious and ſtrained ſpeeches, as the Puritans in depreſſing them. We hold the meane, and giue as much to the authoritie and teſtimonies of the Fathers, as may ſtand with the truth of holy Scriptures, and as themſelues deferre to the writing of others, or require to be giuen to their owne.

Next you tell, of your *following their opinion who would make the Church of England and the Church of Rome ſtill to be all one in Eſſentiall points, and the differences to be accidentall. Confeſſing the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though ſicke, or corrupted, and the Proteſtants to be derined from [illegible], and reformed.* This opinion is not onely as you write *fauoured of many great Schollers in England*, but is the common opinion of all the beſt Diuines of the reformed Churches that are or haue beene in the world, as I ſhewed in part of ano-

ther worke, which as I remember you had a ſight of. Wherein yet I feare you miſtake the tearme, *accidentall*, which doth not import that our differences are but ſleight and of ſmall conſideration, but that all thoſe opinions and abuſes which we reforme and cut off, are not of the Faith, but ſuperfluous and foraine, yea hurtfull and noiſome to it, as the weedes are to the corne, which ouer-grow and choake it. And to follow this ſimilitude, the ſtate of the Church vnder the Romane obedience, and that part which is reformed, is like a field ouergrowne all with weedes, thiſtles, tares, cockle: ſome part whereof is weeded and cleanſed, ſome part remaines as it was before; which makes ſuch a difference to the view, as if it were not the ſame corne. But being better conſidered, it will be found all the difference is, from the weedes, which remaine there, and here are taken away. Yet neither here perfectly, nor all where alike, but according to the induſtrie of our weeders, or conuenience of the worke, with care of the ſafetie of the good corne. By this Parable, you may ſee what is to be hoped of *your labour to reconcile moſt of our particular controuerſies*. For although I doubt not but in ſome it may be performed, where the difference is rather *verball* then *reall*; and in the manner of teaching, rather then in the ſubſtance of doctrine. And if moderate men had the matter in handling the flame of contention in a great many more might be troden downe and ſlaked, ſuppoſe the ſparkes not all extinct; yet in ſome other, it is as poſſible to make the weede and corne-friends, as your and our opinions; where there is none other remedy but that of our Saniour, *Euery plant that my heauenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out*. Neither doth this impoſſibilitie ariſe more out of the nature of the things, then the affection of the perſons. For the Pope and the Court of Rome, which are thoſe that domineere on that ſide, doe no leſſe out of the feare of their owne ruine deadly deteſt all reformation, then the reformed out of their preſent view and former feeling, the tyrannie of the

Papacie,

Papacie, which they ſee doth excommunicate, and put to cruell death all that are of this way. And which is a prodigious thing, where they tolerate the blaſphemous and profeſſed enemies of Chriſt, euen with allowance of the publike exerciſe of their Religion, there doe they burne men profeſſing Chriſts religion, according to the ancient and common rule thereof, with that vprightneſſe of conſcience, that if they had as many liues as there be Articles thereof, they would giue them all rather then renounce any of them.

As for the *Proteſtants making the Pope Antichriſt*, I know it is a point, that inrageth much at Rome. But if the Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, if Saint *Iohn* in the Reuelation, deſcribe Antichriſt ſo, as they that doe but looke vpon the Pope well, muſt be forced to ſay as the people did of the blinde man in the Goſpell, ſome, *this is he*; others, *he is very like him*; if himſelfe and his flatterers doe, and ſpeake ſuch things, as if all others ſhould hold their peace, doe in a ſort proclaime, *I am he*; what can the Proteſtants doe with the matter? I will take the liberty here to relate to you, what I ſaw while I was in *Venice*, the rather becauſe it is not impertinent to our preſent purpoſe. And though perhaps you may haue heard ſomewhat of it, yet the particulars are I ſuppoſe vnknowne in thoſe parts. And yet it doth more import they were knowne there then otherwhere, being occaſioned by a ſubiect of the Crowne, though of a name and family whereto it is not much beholding.

In the yeare 1608. *F. Thomas Maria Caraſa*, of the Order of the Friers Preachers, Reader of Philoſophy in *Naples*, printed a thouſand *Theſes* to be diſputed thrice; once at *Rome* in the Church of *Saint Marie ſuper Mineruam*, twice in *Saint Dominickes at Naples*. Of theſe fiue hundred were in Logicke, Naturall Philoſophy, Metaphyſicke, and Mathematickes; fiue hundred more in Diuinitie, amongſt which that was one. *Solus Petrus & ſucceſſores in totam Eccleſiam illimitatam iuriſdictionem habent.* Theſe were all

included in the forme of a Tower, and dedicated with an Epistle to the present Pope *Paulus* the fift, to whose armes alluding he saith, *idem Draco biceps qui vtrumque polum amplexus imperio ad Ecclesiæ pomœrium tanquam ad amanissimos Hesperidum hortos pernigil excubat, nullius Herculis vim metuens, turris etiam mea sit custos.* On the top of this Tower, was this representation curiously and largely cut. An Altar, with two Columnes, and their ornaments, according to the rules of Architecture. In the middest for the Altar peece was the Popes picture, very liuely portraied to the breast. Ouer his head was the word, *Vultu portendebat imperium.* Aboue on the toppe of the front, in three compartiments his armes thus. On the one side the spread Eagle alone, the word *Ipse mihi fert tela pater.* On the other a Dragon, and by it *Meliora seruo.* In the middest both together in one scutchion with the crosse Keyes and triple crown in the creast. On either side of these colums were depending Crownes and Scepters, whereof sixe were on the right hand after the Christian fashion. The Imperial aboue, other vnderneath, and lowest the *Corno of the Duke of Venice*, so they call a certaine Cap the Prince vseth to weare being of Gold Embroderie, and somewhat resembling a horne. There were also Turkish *Turbanes*, and Diadems of diuers fashions, as many on the left side. By these on either side of the columnes, were two of the foure parts of the world. *Europe* and *Afrike* on the one, *Asia* and *America* on the other, in the habite of Ladies sitting vpon their proper beasts couchant, each offering vnto him that was aboue the Altar of their commodities, Corne, Fruits, Incense, &c. On the base of the columne on the Christian and Europæan side, was the word, *Et erunt Reges nutritij tui.* On the other, *Vultu in terram demisso pulueres pedum tuorum lingent, Esai. 49.* Agreeable whereto there was made flying ouer their heads two Angels, on each side, one with these sentences in their hands. That ouer *Europe* and *Africk*: *Gens & regnum quod non seruierit illi,*

illi, in gladio & in fame, & in peste visitabo super gentem illam ait *Dominus*, *Hier.*27. That ouer *Asia* and *America*: *Et dedit ei Dominus potestatem & regnum, & omnes populi ipsi seruient: potestas eius potestas aterna quæ non auferetur & regnum eius quod non corrumpetur*, *Dan.*7. Now iust vnderneath the picture of the Pope, on the foreside of the *Altar*, was this inscription, PAVLO V. VICE DEO CHRISTIANÆ REIP. MONARCHÆ INVICTISSIMO ET PONTIFICIÆ OMNIPOTENTIÆ CONSERVATORI ACERRIMO. The Copies of these *Theses* were sent as Nouelles from *Rome*, and did the more amuse men at *Venice*, because of the controuersie that State had with the Pope a little before, and the seeing their Dukes *Corno* hanged vp among his Trophees, vnder all other Princes Crownes. But most of all the new title *Vice-Deo*, and the addition of *Omnipotencie* gaue matter of wonder. The next day it was noised about the Citie, that this was the picture of *Antichrist*; for that the inscription PAVLO V. VICE-DEO (5 50 5 5 1 100 500), contayned exactly in the numerall Letters the number of the beast in the Reuelation 666. What anger and shame this was to the Popish faction, I leaue it to you to esteeme. But whom could they blame, but themselues, who had suffered so presumptuous and shameleſſe a flatterie to come forth, with publike approbation, annexing also so blasphemous an inscription, as vnawares to them by the prouidence of God, should so plainly characterize Antichrist? But to heale vp this matter againe, not long after we had fresh newes went about, that Antichrist *was borne in Babylon*, *had done many miracles*, *was comming toward Christendome with an Armie*. Wee had an Epistle stampt at *Venice*, *pretended to bee written at Rome*, An. 1592. *by the Reuer. D. Valentinus Granarensis touching the birth of Antichrist his stocke*, *progenie*, *countrie habitation*, *power*, *maruels*, *life*, *and death*, *out of the holy Scriptures*, *and Fathers*, *printed Cum priuilegio*. And as for the Title *Vice-Deus*, as if they would haue it in despite of all men:

men: one *Benedictus à Benedictis* a subiect of the Venetian State, setting out a Booke against Doctor *Whitakers* position, *De Antichristo*, at *Bologna* (for at Venice it was not suffered to bee printed) reuiues it with aduantage. Hee dedicates it thus, *Paulo Quinto Pontifici Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ Oecumenico, summo totius Orbis Episcopo atq; Monarchæ & supremo Vice-Deo.* These Titles he heapes vpon the Pope againe, and againe, and that yee may iudge of his wit by one place, in the conclusion, exhorting Doctor *Whitakers to repentance*; hee tels him, that by his example his King, *and with the same King Iames the first, many Englishmen, conuertentur ad Dominum Deum, & ipsius loco ad Vice-Deum confugient.* And *pag.* 135. hee saith of *Gregorie* the Great. *Totum mundum quasi Monarcha ac Vice-Deus optimè & irreprehensibiliter rexit, &c.* Hee might haue learned of him, that his other Title *Oecumenicus Pontifex*, is the very *name of Antichrist*, the *name of blasphemie*, by which hee doubts not to presage, that *Antichrist was neere, and an Armie of Priests readie to attend vpon him.* In this if euer in any thing, it seemes your Iudge was infallible.

Apologia pro Garneto, c. 5.

It will bee said here, it is not in the Popes power what his followers will say of him, he stiles himselfe the Seruant of Gods Seruants. *If the Canonists will call him,* Our Lord God the Pope, *first, it may be denyed. Secondly, it may be laid to the ouer-sight of the Writers or Printers. Thirdly, if it bee shewed to bee left standing still in the Glosse of the Canon Law, by them that were appointed to ouer-see and correct it, what marueil if one word escaped them, through negligence, or wearinesse, or much businesse? And yet if they thought the sense of the word not so vsuall indeed in the ordinarie talke of Christians, but not differing from the custome of Scripture was to bee allowed to an ancient Writer, the matter deserues not such outcryes. But the Pope, such is his modestie, neuer vsurped this Title full of arrogancy, neuer heard it with patient eares.* To this, let it first bee considered, that the Censors of such things as come to the Presse, are not to bee imagined such Babes,

Babes, as not to know what will pleaſe or diſpleaſe his Holineſſe. Eſpecially in writings dedicated to himſelfe, a man may be ſure they will allow nothing the ſecond time, and after ſome exception and ſcandal taken at it, but what ſhall bee iuſtified. How much more in the Popes owne Towne of Bologna, and when his Chaplaine could not bee allowed to print it at home. But to let all theſe goe; wee may haue a more ſenſible proofe how the Pope taſtes theſe Titles. That which hee rewards hee approues: *Benedictus* was ſhortly after made for his paines *Biſhop of Caorli*. How worthily hee deſerued it you ſhall iudge by his booke; which at my requeſt vouchſafe to reade ouer, and if there be any merit, you ſhall ſure get great meede of patience in ſo doing. That you may not doubt of the Popes iudgement concerning theſe Titles, you ſhall further know, that the matter being come to the knowledge of the Proteſtants in France, and England, made them talke and write of it broadly, namely the *Lord of Pleſſis*, in his *Myſterium iniquitatis*, and the *Biſhop of Chicheſter* in his *Tortura Torti*. This gaue occaſion to the Cardinall *Gieurè*, to relate in the *Officio Santo* at Rome of the ſcandall taken hereat, and to make a motion, *De moderandis titulis*. It was on foot ſundrie moneths. At laſt the Pope reuoking it to himſelfe, blamed thoſe that had ſpoken againſt theſe Titles, and ſaid, *they were no what greater then the authoritie of S. Peters Succeſſor did beare*. To returne thither whence I haue a litle digreſſed. In the queſtion whether *the Pope bee the Antichriſt* or no, for my part I deſpaire of all reconciliation. For neither doth there appeare any inclination at all in the Pope to reforme any thing in Doctrine or Gouernment, nay he encroacheth daily more and more vpon all degrees euen among his owne ſubiects, and reſolues to carry all before him at the breſt, with *his Monarchy and infallibilitie*. On the other ſide, the Reformers partly emboldned with *ſucceſſe*, partly enforced by *neceſſitie*, chiefly tyed with band of *conſcience*, and *perſwaſion of truth*, are not like to retract

what they haue affirmed in this behalfe, and whatsoeuer their differences be in other things, in this point they haue a maruellous vnitie amongst them. These in *France* hauing beene molested *for calling the Pope Antichrist* haue beene occasioned (as I haue heard) some few yeares since to take it into their *Confession*, thereby to iustifie themselues according to the *Edicts of Pacification* giuing them libertie to *professe their Religion*: In *England* as you know it is no part of the doctrine of our Church, yet a commonly receiued opinion. Howbeit this is so farre from hindering, that the reformed Churches and those which heretofore were, as at this present are vnder the Popes obedience be one Church, that is, all members of the Catholike; that the Protestants without this cannot make good the other. For Antichrist *must sit in the Temple of God*, and that is *in the Church*, as *Chrysostome* and *Theophylact* interpret it, and Gods people could not be commanded *to goe out of Babel*, if he had none there.

CHAP. V.

Of the safenesse to ioyne to the Roman being confessed a true Church by her opposites.

BVt you concluded hence, that *seeing many of the best learned Protestants did grant the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though faultie in some things; and contrarily not onely the Romanists, but Puritanes, Anabaptists, and Brownists deme the Church of England to be so, therefore it would be more safe and secure to become a Roman Catholike, &c.* This discourse hath a pretence shew at the first blush, and perhaps was vsed to you since your comming into *Spaine*, as it was to some there before. At my comming to *Venice* I fell vpon certaine letters and reports, set forth as it was told me by *F. Passeuine*; and not vnlike by his minde al-

 nesse,

neſſe to all occaſions to aduance the credit of his ſocietie. Amongſt them there is one ſaid to be a *true Relation of the manner how M. Pickering Wotton was conuerted to the Catholike Roman faith*, indited as it is ſaid and ſubſcribed by himſelfe before his death. In which by a certaine Father of the companie of Ieſus an Engliſhman by nation, the like diſcourſe was vſed, as it is ſaid, to him. *That hee ſhould conſider well, that he and other Proteſtants did not denie that the Catholikes might be ſaued in their faith, whereas all the Catholikes that either liued at the preſent, or euer were, hold it as a moſt certaine Article of Faith, that the Proteſtants and other heritickes cannot be ſaued out of the Catholicke Church; therefore if he ſhould become a Catholike, he ſhould enter into that way which was ſafe, by the conſent of both parts. This conſideration he ſaid moued him not much then. But after praying to God, as he was alſo admoniſhed by that Father, to direct him into the right way, if hee were out of it, ſuddenly hee ſaw a certaine light very clearely before his eyes in forme of a croſſe. Whereupon incontinently there was offered vnto him ſuch a heape of reaſons and arguments by which was ſhewed that the Catholike faith is the onely way of ſaluation, and that of the Proteſtants on the contrarie moſt abſurd and abominable, that moſt euidently he was conuinced without any the leaſt doubt.* And *theſe reaſons which then offered themſelues to him, were for the moſt part ſuch as hee did not remember that he had euer heard them in all his life. Thereupon with vnſpeakeable ioy he called backe the Father, told him what had hapned, praied him to heare his confeſſion, and he examining him vpon all the heads of the Catholike religion, which he moſt firmely and entirely beleeued, heard his confeſſion, &c.* But this narration deſerues little credit. Firſt creating *Maſter Wotton* for the greater glorie of their triumph a *Baron*, vnleſſe the Fathers in Spaine, or *Poſſeuine* in Italie haue a faculcie to create Barons. Next it is a very improbable thing that Maſter *Wotton* dying of a *Calenture* ſhould haue ſo good a memorie, as to indite ſo exact and artificiall a Narration, with ſuch formalitie, and enforce-

ments in fit places, as any Reader of vnderſtanding muſt needes perceiue, came out of a diligent forge, and needed more hammering and fyling then ſo. But that of all other is moſt *Legendlike*, that howſoeuer this motiue of yours is vſed, yet it is not made the effectuall inducement, but *a heape of reaſons in the twinkling of an eye*, and cauſing him not onely to beleeue in the groſſe, but to be able to giue account of all the heads of the Catholike religion (that is all the points of controuerſie at this day, betweene the Romiſts and the reformed Churches) *in a fit of* an *Ague*, in the *twinkling of an eye?* Excuſe mee: this is beyond the *blinde begger that recouered his ſight at Saint Albans* that could tell the names of all colours as ſoone as hee ſaw them. What then? Was not *Maſter Wotton* reconciled? and ſaw he not *a light* in forme of *a croſſe?* Yes: and this your motiue was vſed to him alſo, and perhaps moued him more then all the heape of reaſons beſides. But ſhall I tell you here what I haue heard from the mouth of one that was himſelfe then in Spaine, that both could know the truth of this matter, and had no reaſon to tell me a lye, ſith what hee ſaid came freely from himſelfe, without feare, or hope, or almoſt enquirie? The Gentleman being ſicke, and weake in his braine, the Father that *Poſſeuine* tels of, brought vnder his gowne a picture, and vpon a ſudden preſented it before him: this might be the light in forme of a croſſe (perhaps a very image of Chriſt crucified) which together with the lightneſſe of his fancie, occaſioned that your motiue though it ſelfe alſo very light, might carrie him: as a little weight is able to ſway much, where the beame it ſelfe is falſe. If this be true (as I take the liuing God to record I faine no thing, but doe relate what hath beene told me) as on the one ſide I doubt not, but God in his mercie did interpret of the Gentlemans religion, according to his right iudgement and perſwaſion in his health, and not according to the erronious apprehenſion of his fancie in his ſickneſſe (which euen in his beſt

health

health was euer very ſtrong in his ſleep) as ſome that haue conuerſed with him haue tolde mee: So on the other ſide, they ſhall beare their iudgement whoſoeuer they were, that would with ſo cruell a craftineſſe take aduantage of his infirmitie, and make his ſtorie after a tale to draw on others. As for the *heape of Arguments to conuince the Proteſtants faith to bee abſurd* (that muſt bee by the way the Articles of the Creed) *Poſſeuines* Catholike Hyperboles are well enough knowne in *Venice*, and hee hath beene there told to his head, *That if in things paſt, whereof hee might haue beene informed, hee proues a moſt lying Hiſtorian, it might more eaſily fall out, that hee ſhould proue a moſt falſe and ridiculous prophet in things to come.* *Auuertimento al P. Ant. Poſſeuino. p. 7. & 14.*

And in truth he hath proued ſo hitherto. Wherefore, I reckon theſe garniſhments of Maſter *Wottons* peruerſion, to bee like the reſt of his newes, touching the *Conqueſt of Moſcouia by Demetrius that Impoſtor*, whom he boaſteth in a manner to haue been the Scholler of his *Societie*. Where hee tells the world that the army cried out often. *God and the prayers of our Fathers* (the Ieſuites) *haue ſubdued the hearts of our enemies, and inclined them vnder our Noble Prince Demetrius. That Demetrius turning to the Prieſts of the company of Ieſus, was heard to ſay* [*Loe that which you foretold mee, O Fathers, in the time of that ſorrowfull flight of ours, is now come to paſſe, to wit, that as the Lord God had aſſiſted mee much, ſo on the contrary hee would much comfort me, and that therefore I ſhould not doubt of a full victory.*] Theſe wordes *Poſſeuine* ſtamps in his former *Relation* in Capitall letters. But when this bold enterpriſe was ouerthrowne, and this ſuborned fugitiue ſlaine and ſhamefully dragged vp and downe the ſtreets of Moſco, then loe the reports were, *That a light was ſeene ouer his body in the night time, &c.* Let them that walke in darkneſſe follow ſuch lights as theſe be. Wee are no children of the night, nor of darkeneſſe. Leauing therefore thoſe vnheard of

Arguments, which *Possevine* hath not onely cunningly drawne a veyle ouer, that wee may not see them, but exempted by priuiledge of a miracle that wee may not try them, this which he hath shewed vs, let vs bring it a little to the cleere day-light.

And euen at the first view it is apparent, that this Argument is meerely sorraine; not drawne from any thing, *à parte rei*, as what the true Church is, what it teacheth, or such like, but from *opinion* and testimony. What men say of that of *Rome*, and of the *Reformed Churches, &c.* Now opinions are no certaine grounds of truth, no not in naturall and ciuill matters, much lesse in religion. So this Argument at the most is but *Topicall* and probable. Let vs see the parts of it. And first that ground. *The testimony of our selues, and of our contraries is much more sufficient and certaine then to iustifie our selues alone.* Surely neither the one nor the other is sufficient, or certaine. It is true, that if other proofe faile, and *we will follow coniectures*, hee is in probabilitie an honester man, that others beside himselfe say well of, then hee that alone testifieth of himselfe. And yet according to truth, this latter may bee a right honest man, and dwel, as we say, by ill neighbours, or where he is not knowne, or requires not the testimony of other men: Whereas the other being indeed a knaue, is either cunning to conceale it, or hath suborned other like himselfe to say for him, or dwells by honest men that iudge and say the best. And in this very kind, our Sauiour attributes so little to *testimony*, as he pronounces a woe to them *that all men speake well of*. So in our case it is more probable I grant, if there were no other Argument to cleere it, but opinion, and most voyces, that you haue the true Church, and are in the way of saluation then wee, because we giue you a better testimony then you doe vs. But it is possible we are both deceiued in our opinions, each of other; wee through *too much charitie*, and you and others through *ignorance or malice*. Herein vndoubtedly we haue the aduan-

Luke 6. 26.

tage

tage of you and the rest, and doe take that course which is more safe and sure to auoid sinne, that if we doe faile of the truth, yet we be deceiued with the *error of loue*, which as the Apostle saith, *hopeth all things, and is not puffed vp.* Wee auoid at the least that gulfe of rash iudgement, which, mee thinkes, if the case bee not too to cleere wee should all feare, *With what iudgement yee iudge, yee shall bee iudged. Thou that iudgest another condemnest thy selfe.* Matth. 7. 6. Rom. 2. 1.

But that you may a little better consider the weaknesse of this discourse, if the testimony of our selues and our contraries were sufficient and certaine to make truth, and euer more safe and secure to follow that side which hath that testimony, it had beene better to haue become a Iewish Proselyte, in the Apostles times then a Christian. For the Christians acknowledged the Iewes to be the *people of God, heires of the promises, and of Christ*, and stiled them *Brethren*; notwithstanding their zeale to the ceremonies, and traditions of their Fathers, excused their ignorance, bare with them, laboured to giue them content in all things. Whereas they to the contrarie called those that professed Christ, *Heretickes and Sectaries*, accursed them, drew them out of their Synagogues, scourged them, cast them in prison, compelled them to blaspheme: as you doe now Protestants to adiure, though in other conditions I confesse you goe farre beyond them. By like reason a Pagan in Saint *Augustines* time, should rather haue made himselfe a Christian among the *Donatists*, then with the Catholikes. For the Catholikes granted the Donatists *Baptisme* to bee true, accounted them *Brethren*. The Donatists to the contrary renounced their Brother-hood and Baptisme both, rebaptized such as fell to their side, vsed these formes to their friends, *Saue thy Soule, become a Christian*: like to those vsed by your Reconcilers at this day. Aug. Epist. 48. & in Psal. 39. De Baptismo l. 2. c. 7.

Lastly consider, if this ground of the testimony of our contraries doe compare, and their lack of ours, for theirs be

sure;

ſure; you haue iuſtified the cauſe of the Proteſtants in the maine queſtion, which is the better religion. For whatſoeuer a Proteſtant holds, as of Faith, you cannot deny to bee good and Catholike, nor any Chriſtian man elſe. For hee binds him to his Creed, to the holy Scriptures, and goes no further: and in theſe he hath your teſtimony for him. But hee denies many things which you beleeue, and accounts them forreine, yea repugnant to Faith, as *the Popes infallibilitie, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhipping of Images, inuocation of Saints.* In all theſe you ſpeake onely for your ſelues; in ſome of theſe you haue not vs onely, but all other Chriſtians your oppoſites, to ſay nothing of the Iewes and Turkes, whom I might as well chocke you withall, as you doe the Proteſtants with Anabaptiſts. So by this reaſon our profeſſion is more ſafe and ſecure, and queſtionleſſe is more *Catholike* then yours. Neither haue wee in this diſcourſe the *Argument* onely as you ſee very appliable and fauourable to vs, but (which I would entreate you by the way to obſerue) the *concluſion* it ſelfe often granted by moderate and ſober men of your owne ſide, *viz.* that our courſe is in ſundry things more ſafe then yours. As in making no Image of God. In truſting onely in the merits of Chriſt. In worſhipping none but the Trinitie. In directing our prayers to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt alone. In allowing Miniſters to marry. In diuers other points alſo many of your ſide ſay the ſame with the Proteſtants, and defend vs from the imputations which others of you lay vpon vs, as is ſhewed in the *Catholike Apologie*, by the *Reuerend Biſhop of Chalcedon*.

Abulenſis.
Bellarmine.
Faber.
Erasmus.
Caſſander.
Hoſmeiſter.
Æneas Syluius.

This to the propoſition. Let vs come to the Aſſumption, where you mince too much the Proteſtants opinion touching the Church of *Rome*, when you make them ſay, *It is peraduenture faultie in ſome things*: Nay without peraduenture they ſay, It is corrupt in doctrine, ſuperſtitious and Idolatrous in religion, tyrannicall in gouern-

ment,

ment, defiled in manners, from the crowne of the head to the ſoale of the foot no ſoundnes in it, as the Prophet ſaith of another like it; yet the vitall parts not periſhed, readie to die, yet not dead. *Iſai* 1.6. *A true Church though neither the Catholike Church, nor yet a ſound member of the ſame.* That alſo is falſe in the aſſumption, that *the Puritans denie the Church of England to bee a true Church.* Vnleſſe the Puritans and Browniſts bee with you all one, which you haue made diuers Sects aboue, and then are you to blame as to multiply names (whereof I haue told you) before, ſo now againe to confound them. Doctor *Raynolds, Theſ.* 5.

What is now the Concluſion? *It would be more ſafe and ſecure to become a Roman Catholike.* But the Propoſition wil not inferre thus much ſimply, but onely in this reſpect. For Topicall arguments (as you know) hold onely, *cæteris paribus.* We muſt then inquire if there be no other intrinſecall arguments by which it may bee diſcerned, whether cauſe bee the better, whether pretence to the Church and Truth, more iuſt, more euident. Whether it may bee warranted to returne to Babell, becauſe God hath ſome people there; when as he commands thoſe that are there to come out of it. How ſafe it may bee willingly to ioyne with that part of the Church, which is more corrupt in Doctrine and Manners, when wee may continue with that which is reformed. Theſe points were to haue been ſcanned, ere you concluded and executed as you did.

And ſuch Arguments there want not. Chriſt our Lord hath giuen vs amongſt others, two infallible Notes to know his Church. *My Sheepe*, ſaith hee, *heare my voice*: and againe, *By this ſhall all men knowe that yee are my Diſciples if yee loue one another.* What ſhall wee ſtand vpon coniecturall Arguments from that which men ſay? We are partiall to our ſelues, malignant to our oppoſites. Let Chriſt bee heard who bee his, who not. And for *the hearing of his voice*, O that it might be the iſſue! But I ſee you decline it, Therefore I leaue it alſo for *Iob.* 10.27. *Chap.* 13.35.

the preſent: That other is that which now I ſtand vpon: *the badge of Chriſts ſheepe.* Not a likelihood, but a certaine *token*, whereby *euery man* may know them. *By this*, ſaith he, *ſhall all men know that yee are my Diſciples, if yee haue charitie one towards another.* Thanks be to God: This marke of our Sauiour is in vs, which you with our Schiſmatikes, and other enemies want. As *Salomon* found the true Mother by her naturall affection, that choſe rather to yeeld to her Aduerſaries plea clayming her childe, then endure it ſhould bee cut in peeces, ſo may it ſoone bee found at this day, whether is the right Mother. Ours, that ſaith, *giue her the liuing child, and kill him not*; or yours, that if ſhee may not haue it, is content it bee killed, rather then want of her will. *Alas*, ſaith ours, euen of thoſe that leaue her, *theſe be my children, I haue borne them to Chriſt in Baptiſme, I haue nouriſhed them as I could with mine owne breaſts his Teſtaments. I would haue brought them vp to mans eſtate, as their free birth and parentage deſerues. Whether it bee their lightneſſe or diſcontent, or her enticing wordes and gay ſhewes, they leaue me, they haue found a better Mother. Let them liue yet, though in bondage. I ſhall haue patience; I permit the care of them to their Father; I beſeech him to keepe them that they doe none euill; if they make their peace with him, I am ſatisfied, they haue not hurt me at all. Nay but*, ſaith yours, *I ſit alone as Queene and Miſtris of Chriſts family; hee that hath not me for his Mother, cannot haue God for his Father. Mine therefore are theſe, either borne or adopted: and if they will not bee mine they ſhall bee none.* So without expecting Chriſts ſentence, ſhee cuts in peeces with the temporall ſword, hangs, burnes, drawes thoſe that ſhee perceiues inclined to leaue her, or haue left her alreadie. So ſhee kils with the ſpirituall ſword, thoſe that ſubiect not to her, yea thouſands of ſoules that not onely haue no meanes ſo to doe, but many which neuer ſo much as haue heard whether there be a Pope of Rome or no. Let our *Salomon* be Iudge between them: yea iudge you (Maſter *Waddeſworth*) more

Reuel. 18. 7.

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ſeriouſly and maturely, not by gheſſes, but by the very marke of Chriſt, which wanting your ſelues, you haue vnawares diſcouered in vs, iudge I ſay without paſſion, and partialitie, according to Chriſts Word; which is his Flock, which is his Church.

CHAP. VI.

Of fraud and corruption in alleaging Councels, Fathers, and Doctors.

YOur next Motiue was, *That in examining the queſtions eſpecially about the Church, where you laboured to peruſe the originall Quotations and Texts of the Councels, Fathers, and Doctors, you found,* as you ſay, *much fraud committed by the Proteſtants.* This imputation of *fraud* is very vſuall and common to both ſides; and verily I beleeue ſome on both ſides are faultie. For whether out of humane infirmitie, miſtaking the meaning of Authors, or ſlips of memorie, truſt of other mens Quotations, who tie not themſelues to the wordes, but giue the ſenſe they conceiue; how eaſily may teſtimonies bee alleaged cleane beſides the Authors mindes? Hee that hath ſtrongly conceited any thing, findeth it in all that euer he readeth, or falleth vpon. Too much heat in contention, and deſire of victorie, blindeth the iudgement, and maketh a man heedleſly lay hold vpon any thing, that hee thinkes may ſerue his turne. As wee ſee ſometimes in the writings of the Fathers, which had to deale with ancient Heretikes, alleaging the Scriptures themſelues beſides the purpoſe. Sometimes haſte and deſire of contracting makes one cut off ſome wordes, and explaine and preſſe thoſe that make for him; and perhaps leaue out ſomething materiall: preſently the other ſide cries out *clipping, forgerie, falſification*, and what not? But although all this may bee called *fraud* in reſpect of the

Reader, who is by this meanes deceiued in his euidence, and therefore if he be not aware may pronounce amisse, yet is it nothing to that kinde, when *with an euill conscience and of set purpose fallhood is set forth, and Truth out-faced.* Wherein I cannot tell what you haue found. I could haue desired, and doe yet if your leisure may serue, you would shew the particulars. I doe professe here to you, that I haue seene and euen felt with my fingers such dealing in the Romish faction, as I cannot resolue whether I should account them more shamefull slanderers, and false accusers of others, of fraudulent handling; or bold and shameless, in the practizing of it themselues. When the Lord of *Plessis* his booke of the Sacrament came out, how was it calumniated in this kind, *with falsification? Du Puy* in a publike Chartell offered, that of 306. passages in the Preface, he would shew as cleere as the Sunne at noone day, 128. were falsified, corrupted, and mangled, and the rest of no importance. The *Bishop of Eureux* after Cardinall, vndertooke to shew in the booke it selfe 500. *enormous falsities by tale, and without hyperbole.* The matter was brought to a triall before the King of France, and nine places examined of this number. And as was before-hand promised the *Popes Nuncio, the businesse should be so carried that the aduantage should remaine on the part of the Church of Rome, and the Pope receiue contentment,* & in these very words *the lie should rest with the Heretikes.* (*Morney* was borne downe. The Kings letters to the *Duke of Espernon* of this victorie, were blowne ouer *France*, sent to *Rome*, printed with a discourse thereabout, set forth at *Antwerp*, and translated into English, with some alteration and Turkesing by *F. Parsons.* Wherein hee saith a French Iesuit *Fronto Ducæus* discouered in it at least *a thousand fallhoods for his part.* Hee accuseth Bishop *Iewell*, and Master *Fox* of the like crime; hee saith that in two onely leaues of his booke, a certaine learned Scholler did discouer *thirtie wilfull and voluntarie corruptions and falsifications* that cannot be excused, and himselfe

ſelfe beſides theſe thirtie, noted ſo many other plaine falſe-hoods and manifeſt wilfull lies, as might well double the former number. And by Arithmetick hee multiplies this number with the number of the leaues, the number hee ſaith will riſe to 30000. by which *Iohn Fox* his booke will as much exceede *Iohn Sleidans* ſtorie in number of lies (in which were found onely 11000) as it doth in bulke and bigneſſe. This manner of writing of theſe men, brings to my minde that which Sir *Thomas More* writes of *Tyndals New Teſtament*, wherein hee ſaith, *were founden and noted wrong and falſely tranſlated aboue a thouſand Texts by tale.* The language is like, and the cauſe is the ſame. Men were loath theſe bookes ſhould be read. The ſubſtance of them was ſuch as could not be controlled; the next remedie was to foreſtall the Readers mindes with a prejudice of falſifi-cation, that ſo they might not regard them, but caſt them out of their hands of their owne accord. The Vulgar ſort would be brought out of conceit at the firſt hearing, with vehement accuſation. Euen wiſe men would ſuppoſe though there ſhould not bee any thing neere ſo many wil-full faults, yet ſurely there muſt needes bee a very great number, and that could not happen but with a very bad meaning; this admitted, who would vouchſafe them the reading? And in truth among thoſe that fauour the refor-med part, I haue met with ſome that out of this buzze of falſification in the Lord of *Pleſſis* booke, cared not for rea-ding it, whereby may bee thought in what account it ſhould bee with all thoſe who eſteeme all *F. Parſons* Libels to bee Oracles. But ſhorely: Sith neither the Cardinall *Perone*, nor *F. Parſons* haue had the meanes, or will, to decypher thoſe hundreds and thouſands of falſifications in *Sleidan*, Biſhop *Iewell*, Maſter *Fox*, or *Pleſſis*, in theſe ſo many yeares, as haue run ſince they wrote; and as for the laſt, he hath ſet forth the booke againe, with all the autho-rities at large in the margent, in the Authors owne words, and hath anſwered all thoſe that bayted at it; till they are

Dialog. l. 3. c. 8.

ſilent, what remaines but that we count this *multiplying* of *F. Parſons*, may be ioyned with *Æquiuocation*, to make vp the arte of *falſehood*; wherein he and his faction may iuſtly claime to be the worthieſt Profeſſors in the world. But without any *multiplication* or other *Arithmeticke*, in the fift page of that Relation of his, in the ſeuen firſt lines are foure notorious, I will not ſay *lies* or *falſifications*, but falſhoods by tale. The firſt: *That the triall being begun vpon the firſt place, that was found falſe.* The French diſcourſe printed at Antwerp *cum priuilegio*, and approbation of the Viſitor of bookes, ſaith: *And as to the ſaid firſt Article, nothing was iudged thereabout by the ſaid Commiſſioners, nor pronounced by my ſaid Lord the Chancellor, and the King ſaid that it ſhould be remitted to another time to deliberate thereabout.* The ſecond: *Hee* (that is, *Pleſſis*) *would haue paſſed to the ſecond, but the Biſhop refuſed ſo to doe, except the Miniſters and Proteſtants there preſent would firſt ſubſcribe and teſtifie that this firſt place was falſified.* Hee ſaid in the page before, that *Pleſſis appeared at laſt with ſome foure or fiue Miniſters on his ſide.* There were no Miniſters appeared with him on his ſide. No Proteſtants, no creature did ſubſcribe, or was required ſo to doe. The third: *Which at length they did, viz.* ſubſcribe, this place was falſified. An vtter vntruth. Whereof there is not a word in the ſaid printed Narration. The fourth: *as well in this as in all the reſt.* There was no ſubſcription, as I ſaid, at all. The Commiſſioners were all of the Roman profeſſion, ſauing *Cauſabon*; and he no Miniſter. They neuer pronounced, much leſſe ſubſcribed that any of thoſe places examined were *falſified.* Of the firſt place of *Scotus* they pronounced nothing. Of the ſecond, of *Durand*, *That the oppoſition of Durand was alleaged for the reſolution.* And this they would haue remitted alſo as the former to another time, ſaue that the Biſhop inſiſted, ſaying, *it was in vaine to diſpute if they would not iudge*, addreſſing his ſpeech diuers times to the King, to the intent hee ſhould ſignifie his pleaſure to the Commiſſioners; and

then

then his Maieſtie drawing neere to them, they gaue their opinions vpon that Article as before. This was that which F. *Parſons* ſtumbled at when hee wrote, *The Miniſters and Proteſtants there preſent ſubſcribed and teſtified, that it was falſified, and ſo all the reſt.* For being ouerioyed with this newes which hee did not well vnderſtand (to thinke the charitableſt of him) hee thought the Commiſſioners had beene part at leaſt Proteſtants, and Miniſters: and had ſubſcribed, whereas they pronounced their ſentence *viua voce*, by the mouth of the Chancellour, neuer vſing the tearme *falſification*; yea in ſome of the reſt they acquited the L. of *Pleſſis*, as in *the paſſage of P. Crinitus* though they ſaid *Crinitus* was deceiued. In that of *Bernard, that it had beene good to diſtinguiſh the two paſſages of Saint Bernard out of the ſame booke with an et cætera.* Not to ſtand now vpon that, that in the reſt of the places he hath a reaſonable and iuſt defence with indifferent men, for the omiſſions he was charged with in *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, *Bernard*, and *Theodorit*: and in that of *Cyril*, the King himſelfe ſaid aloud, that *both ſides had reaſon.* but F. *Parſons* not hauing as it appeares receiued perfect information of the particularities of this affaire, was ſo haſtie to write according to the partiall intelligence he receiued at *Rome*, that hee faults himſelfe in the ſame kinde, that hee imputes to another. And if he ſhould meete with ſome ſeuere aduerſarie, that would multiplie his falſehoods by his leaues and lines, as he dealeth with Maſter *Fox*, and then extend by proportion his pamphlet to the bigneſſe of Maſter *Fox his Booke of Martyrs*, he would finde, that he prouides very ill for himſelfe that is to rigorous and cenſorious to other men.

But I leaue him, and come to the fidelitie of the Popiſh faction, whereof I ſhall deſire you to take a taſte in one of the queſtions which you name about the Church, euen that which is indeede *cardo negotij*, as you ſay, *the controuerſie of the Popes authoritie.* For the eſtabliſhing whereof: Firſt, *the Epiſtles of the ancient Biſhops of Rome for the ſpace of*

about

about 300. yeares after Christ are counterfeited. The Barbarous not *Latine* but lead of the stile, and the likenesse of them all one to another, the deepe silence of antiquitie concerning them; the Scriptures alleadged after *Hieromes* translation, doe conuince them of falshood. And by whose practice and procurement we cannot doubt, if wee aske but as *Cassius* was wont *Cui bono?* For at euery bout the authoritie of the Pope, and priuiledges of the Roman See are extolled and magnified.

Next, the *Donation of Constantine* is a senceleſſe forgerie; and so blazed by some of the learnedest of the Roman Church. Reade it aduisedly, either in *Gratian*, or in the Decrees of *Syluester*, with the Confession, and Legend of *Constantines* baptisme, and say out of your owne iudgement if euer any thing can be more fraudulent, more fortish? And because I haue mentioned *Gratian*, his whole compilation is full of falsification, and corruption of Antiquitie: take an example or two in the matter wee haue in hand. The Mileuitene and after the Africane Councils vnder paine of Excommunication prohibit *appeales beyond the Seas.* Which Canons were made purposely to meet with the vsurpations of the Bishops of Rome, of which I haue spoken somewhat before. Now in the citing this Canon, *Gratian* addes this goodly explication; *nisi forte Romanam sedem appellauerint*; thus excepting that abuse which these Councels directly sought to prohibit. Againe, Saint *Augustine* to informe a Christian man what Scriptures hee should hold for Canonicall, bids *him follow the authoritie of the greater part of the Catholike Church, amongst which are those, qua Apostolicas sedes habere, & Epistolas accipere meruerunt, which had the honour to haue the Apostles sit in them and to receiue Epistles from them.* *Gratian* fits it thus, *inter quas* (Scripturas) *sane illæ sunt quas Apostolica sedes habere & ab ea alij meruerunt accipere Epistolas:* and accordingly, the title of that Canon is; *Inter Canonicas, The Decretall Epistles are numbred amongst the Canonicall Scriptures.* True it is,

Dist. 96. c. Constantinus.

Concil. Milen. c. 7.

Concil. Afric. c. 12.

c. placuit. qu. 9. 6

De doctrina. Christ. l. 2.

is, that in the end of the next Canon, *Gratian* addes a good limitation, and worth the remembering, that this must be vnderstood of *such Decrees, in which there is nothing found contrary to the Decrees of the Fathers foregoing, nor the precepts of the Gospell.* Belike euen in *Gratians* time it was not holden impossible, that in the Sanctions and Decretals of Popes, something might be decreed contrary to the Gospel, which may be added to your Iudges *infallibility*, which hath beene touched before.

But these be old trickes of the Champions of the Papacie. At this day perhaps it is better: yes, and that shall ye vnderstand by the words of the children of the Church of Rome themselues *the Venetians*. But first ye are to know, that among certaine Propositions set forth in defence of the state, there was one, the fourth in number of eight, *That the authoritie promised by our Sauiour Christ to Saint Peter vnder the metaphor of the Keyes is meerely spirituall.* For confirmation whereof after other proofe was said, that *the authoritie of the highest Bishop is ouer sinne and ouer soules onely; according to the words of that prayer of the Church about Saint Peter --- qui B. Petro animas ligandi atque soluendi Pontificium tradidisti.* Cardinall *Bellermine* vndertooke to answere these Propositions, and comming to this place, he saith; *that peraduenture Gods prouidence to take away such deceipts, whereby the author of these Propositions would deceiue the simple, with the words of the holy Church misunderstood, inspired into the reformers of the Breuiarie that they should take out of that Prayer the word* (animas) *as anciently it was not there, nor ought to be; because that prayer was formed out of the words of the Gospell. Quodcunque ligaueris, & quodcunque solueris.* Now marke the reioinder that is made to him by *Iohannes Marsilius*, who numbering vp his errors in the defence of euery proposition, roundly tels him? *Erra XIIII. perche dice, &c.* He erres in the XIV. place for that he saith, *that those which haue taken out of the Breuiarie the word* (animas) *were inspired by the holy Ghost. I*

knew not whether the holy Ghoſt be the author of diſcords. This I know well, that one of his gifts and of his fruites is peace. Thoſe which made that prayer had this intention, to explaine the words Quodcunque ligaueris, *with the word* (animas) *by that text which explaineth them,* quorum remiſeritis peccata; *ſinnes being in the ſoule and not in the body, leaſt any ſhould beleeue that the Pope were,* Dominus in temporalibus & ſpiritualibus, *of goods, of bodies, and of ſoules, and that he might looſe and binde euery thing, as it ſeemes the L. Cardinall beleeueth.* And they explained them with the word *animas*, by which explication a remedy is put vnto all thoſe diſcords which may ariſe betweene the Pope and Princes *de meo & tuo. Whereas thoſe which haue lately taken it away out of the Breuiarie, haue a new ſtirred vp occaſion of diſcords and contentions. Beſides that, it is a thing knowne of all men, that in the Bookes of the Councels, of the Canons, of other Doctors, in a word, euen in the very Breuiaries and Miſſals there haue beene and are taken away thoſe things which are in fauour of Princes of the Laitie, to ſee if at length there might be eſtabliſhed the opinion* de illimitata Poteſtate Pontificis in temporalibus. *So as he that compares together the Bookes printed in the yeare* 30. *in* 50. *and thoſe at this-day, as well of the Councels as others, euidently perceiues the vintage, that mervaile it is, that we poſt* vindemiam, *haue found ſome few cluſters for the defence of our gracious Prince. This is a meanes if it goe on further, to make all writings to looſe their credit, and to ruine the Church of God. Be it ſpoken by the occaſion that the Lord Cardinall hath giuen me thereof, and for charities ſake, and for the deſire that theſe writings be no more touched; which be alſo ſaid with all humilitie and reuerence.*

He erres in the XVe. place, for that he ſaith that in the ancient Breuiaries there was not the word animas. *And I haue ſeene Breuiaries written with pen aboue* 200. *yeares agoe, and printed aboue an hundred; in them is the word* animas; *and if it were not, yet ought it to be put in, to take away the occaſions of diſcords.*

Thus

Thus he there; As for the Prayer *corrected*, or corrupted rather; if you looke the old Breuiaries, yea euen that set forth by *Pius* the Fifth, printed by *Plantine*, with the Priuiledge of the Pope, and his Catholike Maieſtie, *Anno* 77. vpon the nine & twentieth of Iune, yee ſhall find it to runne thus. *Deus qui B. Petro Apoſtolo tuo collatis clauibus regni cœleſtis animas ligandi atque ſoluendi Pontificium tradidiſti, concede vt interceſſionis eius auxilio peccatorum noſtrorum nexibus liberemur. Per Dominum.*-Now in the late correction *animas*, is left out, and wee vnderſtand the reaſon. *Ex Decreto S. Concil. Trid.*

In the end of the ſame booke there is an aduertiſement to the Reader, the beginning whereof I will not ſticke to ſet downe *verbatim*; it is this. *Becauſe in this Defence I haue often ſaid, that Authors are made to recant, and that out of their bookes many things are taken away ſincerely ſaid, in fauour of the power of Temporall Princes, to eſtabliſh by theſe meanes the opinion*, De ſupremâ authoritate Papæ in temporalibus; *I haue thought good to aduiſe the Reader, that the quotations by mee brought, are taken*, ad verbum, *out of thoſe bookes which are incorrupt, and containe the opinion of the Authors ſincerely. And that the more ancient the Copies bee, and further from theſe our times, ſo much the better they bee. And in particular I deſire that hee bee aduertiſed, that the Cap.* Nouit de iudicijs, *printed in Rome the yeare* 1575. *by* Ioſeph de Angelis, *with licence of Superiours, is the text which was followed by the Author of the eight Poſitions, and by mee; which containes ſincerely the opinion of Nauarrus, and of the Pariſians. Which in the bookes printed ſince, is changed in ſuch manner as it is no more the ſame, but is become the contrary, to wit, that of Caietane, &c.*

Tell mee, good Maſter *Wadeſworth*, in the ſight of God, what is fraud, if this be not. And thus not onely the Authors of this age any way inclining to reformation, as *Eraſmus*, *Rhenanus*, *Caſſander*, *Ferus*; but, *Vines*, *Faber*,

Caietane, Pol. Virgil, Guicciardine, Petrarch, Dante, yea Authors of six or seuen hundred yeeres old, are set to Schoole to learne the Romane language, and agree with the *Trent* faith. For it is not the authoritie and *Monarchy* of the Pope alone that is sought, though that bee *Summa summarum*, whereunto all comes at last, but no voyce must be heard discenting from that which he teaches. Therefore it is, that *Bertramus Presbyter* is appointed by your Spanish Index printed at Madrid, to bee wholly abolished. The former had catechized him to say in stead of *visibiliter, invisibiliter*, with many other pretie explications, as where he saith, the Elements in the Lords Supper, *Secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod prius fuerant ante consecrationem, hoc & post consistunt*, the explication is, *secundum externas species Sacramenti*. But the surest way was to take him cleane away: and so indeed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* hee is, *and that purposely*, as *Marguerinus de la Bigne* confesseth in his Preface.

The Ancient Fathers are perhaps free. For the Councell of Trent appointed, that *in the writings of the ancient Catholikes nothing should bee changed, saue where by the fraud of heretikes a manifest error is crept in*. But who shall bee the Iudge of that? The Inquisitors and Censors themselues. For my part, I cannot say that I haue spent many houres in the triall of this point, nor haue I had ancient Copies thereto requisite. But I will intreat you to consider with mee one example, or rather two or three in one Father, and in the matter that I named, whereby you may gheese at the rest. In Saint *Cyprians* Workes imprinted at Rome, by *P. Manutius*, *sent for to Venice by Pius the Fourth, to set forth the Fathers, as himselfe saith, most perfectly clensed from all spots*, the Epistle of *Firmilianus Bishop of Cæsarea*, beginning, *Accepimus per Rogatianum*, is wholly left out; and *Pamelius* thinkes purposely, and addes, *perhaps it had beene more wisdome it had beene neuer set out at all*. Saint *Cyprian* was not of that minde, who translated it into Latin,

as

as the ſtile it ſelfe witneſſes, and *Pamelius* alſo is enforced to confeſſe. The matter is, it is to quicke and vehement againſt *Stephanus* Biſhop of Rome. Hee ſaith *hee is moued with inſt indignation, at the manifeſt folly of Stephanus, that boaſting ſo much of the place of his Biſhopricke, and that hee hath the ſucceſſion of Peter, vpon whom the foundations of the Church were ſet, brings in many other Rockes, &c. Hee ſaith hee hath ſtirred vp contentions and diſcords throughout the Churches of the whole world. Bids him not deceiue himſelfe, he hath made himſelfe a Schiſmaticke, by ſeparating himſelfe from the Communion of the Eccleſiaſtical vnity, for while he thinks he can ſeparate all from his communion, he hath ſeparated himſelfe onely from all. He taxes him for calling Saint* Cyprian *a falſe Chriſt, a falſe Apoſtle, and a deceitfull workeman, which being privy to himſelfe that theſe were his owne due, preuentingly hee obiected to another* ! No maruell if this geare could not paſſe the Preſſe at Rome.

In S. *Cyprians* Epiſtle, *De Vnitate Eccleſiæ*, theſe words, *& Primatus Petro datur, &c.* & after, *Vnam Cathedram conſtituit:* and againe, *Et Cathedra vna*, are foiſted into the text in that Romane edition. In that of *Pamelius* alſo beſides theſe, another clauſe is added, forſooth, out of *Gratian*, and a Copie of the *Cambron* Abby [*Qui Cathedram Petri ſuper quam fundata eſt Eccleſia deſerit.*] Theſe patches being all left out, the ſenſe is neuertheleſſe complete and perfect: and for the laſt, which ſpeaks moſt for the Popes Chaire, the Superuiſors themſelues of the Canon Law, by the commandement of *Gregory* the thirteenth, acknowledge, that in eight Copies of *Cyprian* entire, in the Vaticane Librarie this ſentence is not found: but beſides theſe there is one wherein his *opuſcula* alone are contained, and another at Saint *Sauiours* in *Bologna*, in which it is found. But what account they make of it appeares by this, that ſupplying the whole ſentence in another place of *Gratian*, they leaue it out. Wherein as their conſcience is to bee commended, and *Manutius* his modeſtie, or theirs who

ſurueied that edition, that would not follow one Copie against eight; ſo is *Pamelius* boldneſſe to be corrected, that out of one, and that not fully agreeing with *Gratian*, neither ſhames not (as himſelfe ſayes, *veriti non ſumus*) to force in this reading into the text, againſt all the reſt printed and manuſcript, which he vſed aboue twentie in number, as he ſets them downe in a Catalogue in the beginning of his edition. It is now little more then two hundred yeeres agoe, that *Frier Thomas of Walden* wrote againſt *Witcleff*. He in the ſecond Booke of his firſt Tome, the firſt Article, and ſecond Chapter, cites this verie place of *Cyprian*, and cites it to fortifie *Witclefs* aſſertion of his owne minde. For hauing recited *Witclefs* words, he concludes them thus; *Hæc ibi*, and then proceeds. *Addamus & nos quod Cyprianus dicit omnes Apoſtolos pares fuiſſe & poteſtate & honore. Addamus quod Hieronymus dicit, ſuper omnes Apoſtolos ex æquo fortitudo ſolidatur Eccleſia, &c.* Yet, neither in that Chapter, nor in that whole diſcourſe doth he once mention theſe words, now conueied into *Cyprian*, nor any where elſe that I can find in all his Work, though hee cite this Tractate often vnder the name of *Liber contra hæreticos & ſchiſmaticos*. How fit had it beene to anſwere the obiection out of *Cyprian* by *Cyprian*, if hee had not found that *Gratian* after his manner had been too bold or negligent in this paſſage. The ſame Author in his third Tome *De Sacramentalibus*, *Doct.* 10. cites a long place out of this ſame Treatiſe beginning at thoſe words. *An eſſe ſibi cum Chriſto videtur qui aduerſum Sacerdotem Chriſti facit, &c.* Againe, Cap. 81. two places; one immediately before the ſentences charged with thoſe former wordes, another after. The one beginning, *Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum. Ego tibi dico quia tu es Petrus, &c.* the other *Vnitatem tenere firmiter & vendicare debemus, &c.* Certainely vnleſſe *Waldenſis* meant by faint-pleading to betray the cauſe hee vndertooke, hee would neuer haue omitted ſo pregnant paſſages as theſe be, for *Peters* Primacie, and the

Popes

Popes Chaire, had they beene extant in *Cyprians* worke when hee wrote. But wee cannot doubt of his good affection to the See of Rome, either for his orders ſake, or his dedicating that worke to Pope *Martine* the Fifth, or his approbation of the two firſt Tomes, which hee ſaith, *hee cauſed to bee ſeene and examined, per ſollennes viros*, and teſtifies of to bee commended of all, encouraging him to write the third. It remaines therefore that *Cyprian* hath receiued this garniſhment ſince *Waldens* time. And here with this occaſion of his ſilence about thoſe things which are thruſt into *Cyprian*, I will, though beſides my purpoſe, vſe his teſtimony about a certaine ſentence of *the Author of the imperfect worke vpon Matthew*, aſcribed to Saint *Chryſoſtome*, which the Romiſh faction will needs race out. It is in the eleuenth Homily, about the middle. The words are theſe: *Si enim vaſa ſanctificata ad priuatos vſus transferre peccatum eſt & periculum, ſicut docet Balthaſar qui bibens in calicibus ſacris de regno depoſitus eſt & de vita. Si ergo hæc vaſa ad priuatos vſus transferre ſic periculum eſt* [*in quibus non eſt verum corpus Chriſti ſed myſterium corporis eius continetur*] *quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri quæ ſibi Deus ad habitaculum præparauit non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in ijs quæ vult.* In this ſentence the wordes that I haue encloſed from the reſt are inſerted ſaith *Bellarmine* by ſome Scholler of *Berengarius*, for they are not in all Copies. No maruell. That is more maruell that they are in any, ſince the Canonizing of *Tranſubſtantiation*. But in *Waldens* time, and before, the words were thus read, for in his third Tome, Cap. 30. they are thus cited, ſaue that by the error of the print *miniſterium*, is put for *myſterium*, and hee addes there. *Hanc tanti viri ſententiam cum magiſtrum ſuum Witcleff vident libro de ſemone Domini in monte Cap. 37. aſſumere tanquam ſacram, qualiter prædones Lollardi audent, &c.* But, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *Theſe words make not to the matter in hand, for the Author of the Homily ſpake of the holy veſſels of Salomons Temple, which Balthaſar prophaned;*

De Sacram. Euch. l. 3, c. 32.

ned; and in those vessels, neither was the Lords true body, nor yet the mystery thereof. Well, if they be not to the purpose, if they speake of the vessells of *Salomons* Temple, let them stand in the Text still. What need yee purge them out of the newer editions at Antwerpe, and Paris. Belike Father *Iohn Matthews* saw further into this matter then *Bellarmine*, for hee casts out this sentence with the dregs of the Arians, although there bee no Arianisme in it that I can perceiue. The truth is, the Author speakes of the Vessels vsed in the Lords Supper in his owne time. For those wordes, *sicut docet Balthasar, &c.* are brought in by the way, for a confirmation from a like example, the sense hanging in the meane while, which is resumed againe when hee goes on, *Si ergo hæc vasa*, as any indifferent Reader may perceiue. Yea, take away these words, & the sinewes of the sentence are cut, for the force of the argument lies in the comparison of the prophaning of the holy vessels, and of our bodies; That is a sin, yet Christs body is not contained in them, but the mystery therof: but God himselfe dwels in these.

These examples, to omit some other, doe make mee thinke, that howsoeuer the corrupting of the texts of the Fathers, is not now perhaps so vsuall, as of other Writers, and good reason why, they know that many looke narrowly to their fingers, neither is there any place almost, that is of speciall pith, that hath not beene obserued and vrged in the handling of the controuersies of this age, by some one or other; yet where there is any colour of differing Copies, or any aduantage to bee taken that way, it is not slipped. And who knowes not, that sometimes the change of a Letter, yea, of a Point or Accent; makes the whole sentence of another meaning? As for example, that of Saint *Augustine, Qui fecit te sine te, non iustificat te sine te.* Read it interrogatiuely, and it is as strong for *Soto* and the Dominicans, as if it be read assertiuely, for *Catharine* and the Iesuites.

De Verbis Domini, Serm. 15. c. 11.

And

And in very deede when I conſider the eagerneſſe of theſe men, to win their purpoſes, and their fearfull boldneſſe with the holy Word of God, I know not how a man ſhould looke for conſcience or reſpect at their hands in the writings of men. For to omit that the Trent-Fathers haue canonized the *Vulgar Latin Edition*, which ſo many times departeth from the originall inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, adding, detracting, changing, often to a diuerſe, ſometimes to a contrarie ſenſe. To let paſſe alſo how *Sixtus V.* and *Clemens VIII.* doe tyrannize ouer and delude the Faith of their followers, about that Edition, binding them vnto two diuerſe Copies, and ſometimes flat contradictorie; and ſo, *as the ſenſe of each muſt bee inuiolably obſerued, without the leaſt particle of the Text added, changed, or detracted.* The former, *derogating all Faith and authoritie from whatſoeuer Bibles hand-written, or printed, of the Vulgar edition, which did not agree with that which hee ſet forth* ad verbum & ad literam. The latter, telling, that *when the ſame Pope endeuoured to ſet it out, hee perceiued not a few things to haue crept into the holy Bible, through the fault of the Preſſe, and that it needed a ſecond care, whereupon he decreed to bring the whole worke againe to the Anuile, had he not beene preuented by death*; ſo derogating all Faith from the former. Whereas the truth is *Sixtus* did not onely endeuour to ſet out his Bible, but prefixed his Bull before it *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and ſent one of the Copies to the *State of Venice* (as I heard at my being there) howſoeuer ſince it was cunningly recouered againe, ſet it to ſale publikely, and ſaith in his Bull, that he corrected the faults of the Preſſe with his owne hand, and (which moſt of all conuinceth Pope *Clements* Preface of falſhood) the difference of theſe Editions is not in fault of the prines, but in that the one followes the old erroneous reading, the latter the reading of other Manuſcripts according with the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Greeke*, or the *Latin* edition of the Catholike Kings Bible, obſerued by the induſtrie of the Diuines of *Louuaine*.

But to forbeare to vrge this contradiction in the very foundation of beliefe, which some man peraduenture would presse so farre, as to inferre, that the Romanists haue no faith (for hee that beleeues contradictories beleeues nothing.) What shall we say of that impietie, to corrupt the originall Text according to the vulgar Latin? See an example hereof in the first promise of the Gospell, *Gen.* 3. where the Serpent is threatned, that *the seede of the Woman shall crush his head.* The vulgar Edition leauing here the *Hebrew*, the *Seuentie*, and Saint *Hierome* himselfe, as appeares by his questions vpon Genesis, translates *Ipsa. Shee shall bruise thy head.* So it stands now in the authenticall Scripture of the Church of Rome, and herein *Sixtus* and *Clemens* are of accord. The Diuines of Louaine obserue, that two Manuscript Copies haue *Ipse.* That the *Hebrew*, *Chaldie*, and *Greeke*, haue it so likewise. Why then did not either *Sixtus* or *Clemens*, or they themselues hauing Copies for it, correct it, and make it so in the authenticall Text? I will tell you. By colour of this corruption, the Deuill enuying Christs glorie, like an obstinate enemie rather yeelding himselfe to any then his true Conqueror, hath giuen this honour to the *Virgin Mary.* To her it is attributed in that worke which I thinke to bee the most vngodly and blasphemous that euer saw the Sunne: *The Ladies Psalter*, wherein that which is spoken of God by the Spirit of God is writhed to her. In the 51. Psalme, *Quid gloriaris in malitia, o maligne Serpens, &c. Why boastest thou in malice, o thou malignant Serpent and infernall Dragon, Submit thy head to the Woman, by whose valour thou shalt be drowned in the deepe. Crush him, o Lady, with the foot of thy valour, arise and smother his malice, &c.* And in the 52. speaking to the same Serpent: *Noli extolli, &c. Bee not lifted vp for the fall of the Woman, for a Woman shall crush thy head, &c.* So in that Anthem: *Hæc est mulier virtutis quæ contrivit caput Serpentis.* Yea which I write with griefe and shame, to her doth good

Bernard apply it, *Hom. 2. super Missus est*, and which is more strange, expounds it, not of her bearing our Sauiour, but, *Ipsa procul dubio, &c. Shee doubtlesse crushed that poisonfull head, which brought to nought all manner of suggestion of that wicked one, both of temptation of the flesh and of pride of minde.* To her doth the learned and deuout Chancelor of Paris apply it. *Has pestes vniuersas decimata membra Serpentis antiqui, cuius caput ipsa virgo contrivit.* And what marueil in those times, when the plaine Text of the Scripture ran so in the fœminine gender, of a woman, and few or none had any skill of the Greeke or Hebrew? Who should that הוא be, but *shee that is blessed among women?* Now although that thankes be to God, it is knowne that this is a corrupt place, out of the Fountains, yea out of the Riuers also the testimonies of the Fathers, referring this to Christ, as *Irenæus, Iustine, Cyprian, Clement Alexandrinus, Hierome*, yet Pope *Leo* himselfe, yet because no error of the Church of Rome may bee acknowledged, how palpable soeuer; they haue cast how to shadow this corruption, and set some colour vpon it, that howsoeuer this reading cannot bee true, yet it may bee made like to truth. Loe in the Interlinear Bible set forth by the authoritie of King *Philip* the father of his Maiestie that now reignes with you, the Hebrew Text is reformed according to the Latine, IPSA. There was some opportunitie hereunto, by reason that the Letters of the Text without pricks would beare both readings. For הוא may be read הוא *hu*, or הוא *hiu*. And this selfe-same word for the Letters the base of reading, is so pointed in this Chapter verse 19. and applied to *Eue Shee is the mother of all liuing*. And so elsewhere, as *Gen.* 28. 1. and 21. Hereunto perhaps was added, that the pricks are a late inuention of the *Rabbines*, as many thinke, and no part of the Hebrew Text. And that not onely *Leo Castro*, and such as accuse the present Hebrew Copies as falsified, but those that defend them also, doe many of them confesse. Hereupon it was resolued, as it seemes, to point

Serm. de Natiuitate Mar. Virginis.

See D. *Reinolds* Conf. with *Hart. c. 6. §. 2.*

this place הוא. For that it was not by mistaking but purposely done, *Franciscus Lucas* in his Annotations vpon the place doth assure vs; and saith it was *Guido Fabricius* his deede. And indeede other things there bee in that worke, which sauour not of the learning and integritie of *Arias Montanus*, as for example, the Etymologie of *Missa* from the word מסה. But as Boldnesse is not alwayes as prouident, as Ignorance or Malice is bold, these Correctors marked not, that the gender of the Verbe, and the affixe of the Noune following, are both Masculine. So although the Orthographie would bee framed to consent, yet the Syntaxe doth crie out against this Sacriledge. And yet our Rhemists, as I am informed, in their lately set forth Bible, with a long note vpon this place, defend the applying of this Text to the blessed Virgin, and the old reading *Ipsa*. What should a man say? Necessitie makes men desperate, and as the Apostle saith, *Euill men and deceiuers shall waxe worse and worse, deceiuing and being deceiued.*

2. Tim. 3. 13.

These be fraudes indeed, in the strictest sense, wilfully corrupting the Texts of good Authors, wilfully maintayning them so corrupted; not abstayning from the holy Scriptures themselues. For as to that other kinde, deprauing the sense, retayning the wordes; it were endlesse to cite examples. *Bellarmine* alone, as I beleeue, passeth any two Protestants that euer set pen to paper, perhaps all of them put together.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Armies of euident witnesses for the Romanists.

WHere you adde that *you found the Catholikes had farre greater and better Armies of euident witnesses than the Protestants*, it might perhaps seeme so to you, as your minde was prepared, when you had met with such

such cunning muster-Masters as the Romanists are. Who sometimes bring into the field to make their number seeme more, after the old stratagem of warre, a sort of Pages and Lackeis, vnworthy to hold any ranke in the host of God, vnder the names of the Fathers. Sometimes to confirme their part, giue out a voice confidently, that all the forces which they see aloofe in the field are on their side, whereas when it comes to the battell they shall finde that they will turne their armes against them. Somtimes they change the quarrell it selfe; in which case how easie is it to bring Armies, as you say, into the field, to fight against No-bodie and euident witnesses, to proue that which no man denies? For the purpose, that the Bishops of Rome hath had a primacie of honour, and authoritie; when as the question is about a Monarchie, and infallible Iudgement, and vncontrolable Iurisdiction. Herein if you please, see how *Bellarmine* alleages the Fathers, Greeke and Latine, in the 15. and 16. Chapters of his first Booke, *de Summo Pontifice*. So for proofe of the veritie of Christs Bodie and Blood in the Lords Supper, hee spends a whole Booke onely in coiting the testimonies of the Fathers. To what purpose? When the question is not of the truth of the Feeding, but of the manner; whether it be to the Teeth and Belly, or Soule and Faith of the Receiuer. Sometimes they will beate downe the vnexpert Soldier their Reader, that hee sees the Fathers fight too hard as *Pighius* and *Bellarmine* come in often with their *Ideo*, in the end and application of a testimonie. Whereby it comes to passe that the Scholler if he be of a pliable disposition, or loath to bee counted dimme-sighted, yeelds himselfe to his Teacher, and sees in the Fathers that which they neuer dreamed of. But surely, Sir, had you giuen that honour to the holy Scriptures, which of the Iewes was giuen to them, and our Lord Iesus Christ allowes it, in them; and then employed as much trauell in the searching and looking into them, as you professe to haue done in the perusing the Councels and Fathers,

perhaps God had opened your eyes, as those of *Elisha* his seruant, to haue seene, that *there are more on our side then against vs*, horses indeede and charets of fire, able to put to flight and scatter neuer so great armies of humane authorities and opinions. But this place of the *Scriptures* hath no place amongst all your motiues.

As touching that which you say *of the Centurists often censuring and reiecting the plaine testimonies of the Ancients.* It is true, that in the title *De Doctrina*, they note a part, *the singular and incommodious opinions the stubble and errors of the Doctors.* Wherein to tell you my fancie, if they commit any fault, it is, that they are to rigid and strict, referring into this Catalogue, euery improper and excessiue speech, which being seuered from the rest of the discourse, may often seeme absurd: as it may also seeme strange that our Sauiour should teach a man *to hate his Father and Mother*, or *pull out his eyes*, or *giue him his cloake that hath borrowed him of his coate.* Whereas these and the like haue in the place where they stand, admirable force and grace, being taken with an equall and commodious interpretation. But it is as cleare as the noone day, that sundry such errors and singular opinions there be in the Fathers, as cannot be iustified. They speake not alwaies to your own mindes, not onely *prima facie, and in sound of words*, but being neuer so well examined and saued. Witnesse *Sixtus Senensis in the fift and sixt Bookes of his Bibliotheca.* Witnesse *Pamelius*, *Medina* (though blamed for confessing so much by *Bellarmine*) yea witnesse *Bellarmine* himselfe. Wherefore if the bare authoritie of the Fathers must binde vs, vndergoe the same law yee giue, if as your *Belgick Index* confesseth, *you beare in them with many errors, extenuate them, excuse them, by deuising some shift, often denie them, and giue them a cõmodious sense, when they are opposed in disputations*, giue the libertie ye take. Or if (as we thinke) these be base courses and vnbeseeming the ingenuitie of true Christian mindes, acknowledge this honour as proper to the Scriptures,

tures, to be without controuersie receiued, examine by the true touchstone of diuine authoritie all humaine writings, how holy soeuer their Authors haue beene. Try all things, as the Apostle commands, hold fast that which is good.

Your instance in *Danæus his Commentaries, supra D. Aug. Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, was not all the best chosen. For neither doth Saint *Augustine* in that booke treating professedly of Purgatory, auouch it plainely, or yet obscurely. Nor doth *Danæus* reiect his opinion with those words, *Hic est nodus Augustini*, or the like. The heads of Saint *Augustines* discourse are these. I. *That whereas some thought that such as are baptized and holde the Faith of Christ, though they liue and die neuer so wickedly, shall be saued, and punished with a long but not eternall fire, he thinkes them to be deceiued, out of a certaine humane pitie; for this opinion is flatly contrarie to other Scriptures.* II. *He interprets the place of Saint* Paul, *touching the trying of euery mans worke by fire, of the fire of tribulation, through which as well he that builds gold and siluer, that is, mindes the things of God, as he that builds hay and stubble, that is, too much mindes the things of this life must passe.* III. *He saith that it is not incredible, that some such thing is done after this life also; and whether it be so or not, may be enquired of.* IIII. *But whether it be found or no, that some faithfull people, according as they haue more or lesse, loued these perishing things, are later or sooner saued: yet not such as of whom it is said, that they shall not possesse the Kingdome of God, vnlesse repenting as they ought, they obtaine forgiuenesse; & for the purpose, be fruitfull in almes; which yet will not serue to purchase a licence to commit sinne.* V. *That the daily and lighter sinnes, without which we are neuer in this life, are blotted out by the Lords Prayer. And so the greater also, if a man liue them, and forgiue others his enemies; which is a worthy kinde of almes: but the best of all is a sinners amending of his life.* Loe how plainly Saint *Augustine* auoucheth Purgatorie, Of which he doubts whether any such thing can be found

or

or no. Expounds that Scripture that seemes most strong for it, all otherwise, and so as it cannot agree thereunto. If it be found, is sure it will not serue for greater sinnes. And for lesser defects, yea the greatest shewes, another a surer remedy, which intruth makes Purgatory superfluous. In this doctrine, *Danaus* is so farre from controuling Saint *Augustine*, that he applauds him; and saith, *that declaring his owne opinion of Purgatorie, he pronounceth plainely, that the whole defining of this matter is vncertaine, doubtfull, and rash; which since that* Augustine *wrote being now an old man, certainely it cannot be doubted but that hee did altogether reiect Purgatorie: yea and he shewes this fire it selfe to be vnprofitable.* Thus *Danaus* there. But the censure that was in your minde, I beleeue is that vpon another passage of Saint *Augustine* in the same Booke, where hee treates, *whether the soules of the dead are eased by the pietie of their friends that are liuing.* And thus he determines it. *That when the Sacrifices either of the Altar, or of whatsoeuer almes are offered for all such as are deceased after Baptisme, for such as are very good folke, they are thankesgiuings; for such as are not very euill, they are propitiations: for those that are very euill, though they be no helpes to the dead, yet they are consolations, such as they be to the liuing. And to such as they are profitable vnto, it is either that they may haue full remission, or that their very damnation may be more tollerable.* Vpon this Chapter thus saith *Danaus*. *Hoc totum caput continet* ἀκυρολογίαν *Augustini*, and after hee addes, *Itaque hic fœnum & stipulam adificat vir pius & magnus.* But *you*, yee say, *had rather follow Saint Augustines opinion then his censure.* Perhaps as one saith, *rather erre with Plato, then hold the truth with others.* If that be your resolution, what should we vse any more words? Beleeue then if you please, that the commemoration of Christa sacrifice in the Lords Supper, or the oblations of the faithfull, are to be made for *all that decease after Baptisme*, in the attempting of whatsoeuer sinne they die, yea suppose in finall impenitence of any deadly crime. That *such as be*

damned

damned may thereby haue their damnation made more tollerable. Beleeue that without any improprietie of ſpeech, the ſame forme of words may be a thankſgiuing for one, and an appeaſing of Gods wrath for another. Beleeue alſo (if you can beleeue what you will) that Saint *Tecla* deliuered the ſoule of *Falconilla* out of hell, and Saint *Gregorie* the ſoule of *Traian*, and that as may ſeeme ſaying Maſſe for him, ſith he was forbidden thence forth *to offer any hoſte for any wicked man.* Beleeue that *Macarius* continually praying for the dead, and very deſirous to know whether his prayers did them any good, had anſwere by miracle from the ſcull of a dead man an Idolater, that by chance was tumbled in the way. *O Macarius when thou offereſt prayers for the dead, we feele ſome eaſe for the time.* Beleeue that on Eaſter euen *all the damned ſpirits in hell keep holy day, and are free from their torments.* Saint *Auguſtine*, ſuch is his modeſtie, will giue you leaue to beleeue this, as well as Purgatorie, if you pleaſe, as hee is not vnwilling to giue, as large ſcope to other mens opinions as may be, ſo they reuerſe not the plaine and certaine grounds of holy Scripture. In all theſe you may if you pleaſe follow authors alſo; as Saint *Damaſcene*, *Paladius*, *Prudentius*, *Sigebert*, and others. But giue the ſame libertie to others that yee take. Compell no man to follow your opinion, if he had rather follow *Danæus* reaſons. For my ſelfe, I would ſooner with Saint *Auguſtine* himſelfe, whoſe words touching Saint *Cyprian*, *Danæus* here borrowed, confeſſe this to be, *nœuum candidiſſimi pectoris coopertum vbere Charitatis*, then be bound to iuſtifie his conceit touching the commemoration of the dead in the Lords Supper. And as hee ſaith of Saint *Cyprian*, ſo would I adde, *Ego huius libri authoritate non teneor, quia literas Auguſtini non vt Canonicas habeo, ſed eas ex Canonicis conſidero; & quod in ijs diuinarum ſcripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude eius accipio, quod non congruit cum pace eius reſpuo.* Which words I doe the rather ſet downe, that they may be *Luthers* iuſtification alſo

Relation p.2.21 againſt F. *Parſons*, who thinkes he hath laid ſore to his charge when hee cites very ſolemnely his Epiſtle *ad Equitem Germ. Anno Domini* 1521. where he ſaith, *he was tyed by the authority of no Father, though neuer ſo holy, if hee were not approued by the iudgement of holy Scripture.* Surely this is not *to denie and contemne*, as he cals it, or as you to *controll* the Fathers, to account them ſubiect to humane infirmities, which themſelues acknowledge. But the contrary is to *boaſt againſt the truth*, to ſeeke to fore iudge it with their miſtakings, which needes not ſo much as require their teſtimonies.

I will forbeare to multiply words about that, *whether the teſtimonies of Antiquitie which fauour the Proteſtants be many or few*: whether they doe *indeede ſo, or onely ſeeme, prima facie*; whether *they be wreſted or to the purpoſe*; whether all this may not by iuſt or reaſon be affirmed of the paſſages cited by the Romaniſts out of Antiquitie, ſetting aſide *matters* of *ceremony*, and *gouernment* (which your ſelfe confeſſe by and by may be diuers, without empeaching vnitie in Faith) and *opinions*, euer to be ſubiected to the triall of Scriptures, by their owne free conſent and deſire. Iudge by an inſtance or two, that this matter may not be a meere skirmiſh of generalities. *Tertullian* in his latter times, whether as Saint *Hierome* writes through the enuie and reproach of the Roman Clergie, or out of the too much admiring chaſtitie and faſting, became a Montaniſt, and wrote a Booke *de Pudicitia, blaming the reconciling of Adulterers and Fornicators.* In the very entrance almoſt thereof, he hath theſe words. *Audio etiam edictum eſſe propoſitum, & quidem peremptorium. Pontifex ſcil. Maximus Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum dicit. Ego & mœchis & fornicationis delicta pœnitentiâ functis dimitto.* *Pamelius* in his noate vpon this place, writes thus, *Bene habet: & annotatu dignum quod etiam iam in hæreſi conſtitutus, & aduerſus Eccleſiam ſcribens, Pontificem Romanum Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum nuncupet, & infra Cap. 13. bonum Paſtorem, & benedictum Pa-*

pum:

pum & Cap. 21. *Apoſtolicum.* Thus *Pamelius*; and preſently lanches forth into the Priuiledges of the See of Rome, and brings a number of teſtimonies for that forgery of *Conſtantines donation.* The like note hee hath in the life of *Tertullian*, where hee makes the Pope that ſet forth the former Edict to haue beene *Zephyrinus*; *quem*, ſaith hee, *Pontificem Maximum etiam iam hæreticum Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum appellat. Baronius* alſo makes no ſmall account of this place, and ſaith, *The title of the Pope is here to bee noted.* And indeed, *prima facie* (as you ſay) they haue reaſon. But hee that ſhall well examine the whole web of *Tertullians* diſcourſe, ſhall finde that hee ſpeakes by a moſt bitter and ſcornefull *Ironie*, as *Elias* doth of *Baal*, when hee ſaith, *hee is a God.* The word *ſcilicet* might haue taught them thus much. Yea, the title *Pontifex Maximus*, which in thoſe dayes, and almoſt two ages after, was a Pagan terme, neuer attibuted to a Chriſtian Biſhop, firſt laid downe by *Gratian* the Emperour, as *Baronius* alſo notes, in the yeere of our Lord, 383. becauſe it ſauoured of Heatheniſh ſuperſtition, though it had beene, as a title of Royalty vſed by the former Chriſtian Emperours, till that time. This title, I ſay, might haue made them perceiue *Tertullians* meaning; vnleſſe the immoderate deſire of exalting the Papacie did ſo blind their eyes, that ſeeing, they ſaw, and yet perceiued not. In the ſame character, though with more mildneſſe and moderation, is the ſame title for the other part of it, vſed by Saint *Cyprian*, in his Vote in the Councell of Carthage. *Neque. n. quiſquam noſtrum ſe eſſe Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum conſtituit aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem Collegas ſuos adigit. Bellarmine* ſaith, *hee ſpeakes here of thoſe Biſhops that were in the Councell of Carthage; and that the Biſhop of Rome is not included in that ſentence, who is indeed Biſhop of Biſhops.* What! and doth hee tyranniouſly inforce his Colleagues to obedience alſo. For it is plaine that *Cyprian* ioynes theſe to-

gether, the one as the presumptuous title, the other as the iniurious act answering thereto, which hee calls plaine *tyranny*. And as plaine it is out of *Firmilianus* Epistle, which I vouched before, that *Stephanus* Bishop of Rome heard ill for his arrogancie and presuming vpon the place of his Bishopricke, *Peters Chaire*, to seuer himselfe from so many Churches, and breake the bond of peace, now with the Churches of the East in *Asia*, now of the South in *Africke*. And hee was in as ill conceit with *Cyprian* for his breaking good order, and communicating with *Basilides* and *Martialis* iustly depriued in Spaine; as Saint *Cyprian* was with him, when he stiled him, *a false Christ*, and *a false Apostle*. But the holy Martyr was of a more patient and calme spirit, then to be moued with such reproaches; nay, hee tooke occasion, as it should seeme, thereby to write of *patience*. From this mildnesse it was, that hee so closely taxed the presumption of him, that made himselfe Bishop of Bishops, and by terror (which what it was *Firmilianus* Epistle shewes, threatning Excommunication) would compell his Colleagues to his owne opinion. *None of vs* saith he, *doth thus*. As the Apostle, *we preach not our selues; we commend not our selues; Wee are not as many, that adulterate the Word of God, &c.* *Bellarmine* takes the first kindly. No maruell, saith hee, for this the Bishop of Romes due. But they goe together, hee must be content to take both, or leaue both. Such another place there is in Saint *Augustines Epist.* 86. the wordes are, *Petrus etiam inquit Apostolorum Caput, cœli ianitor, & Ecclesiæ fundamentum.* Where in the Margent, the Diuines of Louaine, the ouerseers of *Plantines* edition, set this note, *Petrus Ecclesiæ fundamentum.* Why might they not? The words yee will say of the text. But these words of the text be not Saint *Augustines*, whose opinion is well enough knowne, *That it is Christ confessed by Peter, that is the foundation of the Church*; but they are the words of an vndiscreet railer * *of the Citie of Rome*, against whom Saint *Augustine* in all that Epistle

* *Vrbici cuiusdam.*

most

moſt vehemently inueighs. This arrogant Author endeauours ſo to defend the Romane cuſtome of faſting on the Saturday, as hee reproaches all other Churches that vſed otherwiſe. And that we may ſee with what Spirit he was led, he brings the ſame text that is brought, in Pope *Siricius*, and *Innocentius* Epiſtles, againſt the marriage of Clergie men, *Qui in carne ſunt Deo placere non poſſunt*, and many other Scriptures wreſted, and farre from the purpoſe; at laſt comes the authoritie of *Peter*, and his tradition very Pope-like alledged, *Peter*, he ſaith, *the head of the Apoſtles, porter of heauen, and foundation of the Church, hauing ouercome Simon the Sorzerer, who was a figure of the Deuill, not to be ouercome but by faſting, thus taught the Romanes, whoſe faith is famous in the whole world.* I remit you to Saint *Auguſtines* anſwere to this tradition. This I note, that where your Cenſors do race out of the Margents of former editions, ſuch notes as do expreſſe the very opinions of the ancients, and in their owne wordes, here they can allow and authorize ſuch marginall notes, as are directly contrary to their meaning. Yea, which are earneſtly oppugned by them; when they ſeeme to make for the authoritie of the Pope. Good ſir, examine well this dealing, and iudge if this bee not wreſting the Fathers, and applying them cleane from their purpoſe.

In fine, *you found your ſelfe, you ſay, euidently conuinced.* Perſwaded, I beleeue, rather then *conuinced.* Elſe if the force and euidence of the Arguments, and not the pliableneſſe of your minde were the cauſe of your yeelding, mee thinkes they ſhould worke like effect in others, no leſſe ſeriouſly ſeeking for truth, and ſetting all worldly reſpects aſide, earneſtly minding their owne ſaluation then your ſelfe. Which I well know they do not, neither thoſe which hitherto haue beene examined, nor thoſe which yet remaine to be conſidered in the rereward.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Inuisibilitie of the Church, said to bee an euasion of Protestants.

THe first whereof is, *the dislike of the Protestants euasion, as you call it, by the Inuisibilitie of their Church.* Giue mee leaue here to tell you plainly, yee seeme to mee not to vnderstand the Protestants doctrine in this point. Else yee would haue spared all that, *The Catholike Church must euer be visible, as a Citie set on a hill, otherwise how should shee teach her children, conuert Pagans, dispence Sacraments?* All this is yeelded with both hands. The Congregations of which the Catholike Church doth consist are visible. But the promise made to this Church, *of victory against the gates of hell*, the titles, *of the house of God, the base and piller of Truth* (an allusion, as I take it, to the bases and pillers that held vp the veile or curtaines in the Tabernacle) *the body of Christ, his Doue, his vndefiled*, are not verified of this Church in the whole visible bulke of it, but in those that are called according to Gods purpose, giuen to Christ, and kept by him to bee raised vp to life at the last day. This doctrine is Saint *Augustines* in many places, which it would bee too tedious to set downe at large. In his third booke, *De doctrina Christiana*, among the rules of *Tychonius*, there is one which hee corrects a little for the tearmes, *De Domini corpore bipertito*; which he saith, ought not to haue beene called so, *for in truth that is not the Lords body, which shal not be with him for euer, but he should haue said of the Lords true body and mixt, or true and fained, or some such thing. Because not onely for euer, but euen now, hypocrites are not to be said to be with him, though they seeme to be in his Church.* Consider those resemblances taken out of the holy Scripture, *wherein that godly Father is frequent, of chaffe and wheat in the Lords floore, of good and bad fishes in the net, of spots and light in the Moone. Of the Church carnall and spi-*

rituall,

rituall, of the wicked multitudes of the Church, yet not to be accounted in the Church. Of the lilly and the thornes; those that are marked, which mourne for the sinnes of Gods people, and the rest which perish, which yet beare his Sacraments. Consider the last Chapter of the booke, *De Vnitate Ecclesiæ*, and that large Treatise which he hath of that matter, *Epist.* 48. The place is long, which deserues to bee read, for the obiection of the Vniuersality of Arianisme (like to that of Papisme in these last ages) which Saint *Augustine* answeres in the fifth booke, *De Baptismo contra Donatistas cap.* 27. *That number of the iust, who are called according to Gods purpose, of whom it is said, The Lord knoweth who are his, is the inclosed garden, the sealed fountaine, the well of liuing waters, the orchard with Apples, &c.* The like hee hath. *l.* 5. *c.* 3. & 23. he concludes, that *because such are built vpon the Rocke, as heare the Word of God and doe it, and the rest vpon the sand: now the Church is built vpon the Rocke, all therefore that heare the Word of God and doe it not, are out of question without the Church.* In the seuenth booke, *cap.* 51. *Quibus omnibus consideratis*——Read and marke the whole Chapter. Out of these and many more like places, which I forbeare to mention, it appeares, that albeit the true Catholike Church is such as cannot bee hid, yet considering that it consists of two sorts of people, the one, which is the greater part, who doe not indeed properly belong to it: the other, the fewer, truely and properly so called, to whom all the glorious things spoken of the Church doe agree. The face therefore of the mixt Church may be ouer-run with scandals, as in all times almost. The greatest number may sometime bee Idolaters, as in the Kingdome of Israel vnder *Achab*. The principallest in authoritie may bee false teachers, as the Priests and Prophets in *Ieremies* time: the sonnes of pestilence may sit in *Moses* Chaire, as they did in Christs time. Yet still the Church *is the ground and piller of Truth in the Elect: Ipsa est prædestinata columna & firmamentum veritatis. The Sheepe heare not Seducers, Iohn* 10. 8.

De Vnitate Eccl. c. 24. *Enarrat. in Psal.* 103. *com.* 1.

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to wit, *finally, and in any damnable point.* Thus was it before Christ, thus since, thus in the Church of England, before, yea, and since it was reformed. Thus in that of Rome it selfe at this day. There is a distinction of *Thomas*, of those that be in the Church, which rightly interpreted agrees fully herewith. There are some, *De Ecclesia numero tantum.* Some, *numero & merito.* The former are such as haue onely *fidem informem*, the latter *formatam.* Now though the persons of such, as be in the Church be visible, yet the Faith and Charitie of men wee see not, and to argue from the priuiledges of the Church, *numero & merito*, to the Church, *numero tantum*, is a perpetuall, but a palpable *paralogisme* of the Romish faction: which is grosser, yet when they argue to the Church *representatiue*; and grossest of all when *one man is made the Church*, and he (as themselues grant may fall out) a Deuill incarnate.

2. 2. q. 2. ar. 9.

CHAP. IX.

Of lacke of Vniformitie in matters of Faith, in all ages and places.

AND in this selfe same *Paralogisme* you were beguiled with, in the next point of *Vniformitie and concord in matters of Faith. The true Church, yee say, euer holds such Vniformitie.* It is vtterly false in the *Visible and mixt Church*, both before Christ and since. It is false in the Church of Rome it selfe; whose *new-coyned faith*, patched to the Creed, by *Pius* the Fourth, came in peece-meale out of priuate opinions and corrupt vsages, nor euer was in any age vniformely holden, or taught as matter of Faith, euen in it, as it is at this day. So by your owne discourse it should be no true Church. And taking *matters of faith* so largely as it seemes you doe, in opposition *to such things as bee ceremonies or of gouernment*; it is vntrue also of the

Church

Church of the Elect, or properly so called. For though the Faith in the *principles* thereof bee euer the same, yet many *conclusions* of Faith haue sometimes lien vnsearched out, and like some parts of the world vnknowne, till by the industrie of Gods seruants, occasioned also by the importunitie and opposition of Heretikes, they were discouered. Sundrie common errours also there haue beene, which in succeeding ages haue beene cleered and reformed: as, the *Chiliastes*. That *Angels haue bodies*: That *children after they be baptized are to be communicated*: That *Heretikes are to be rebaptized*.

To the Assumption. First, the Protestants challenge not to themselues any Church as *their owne*; which I must aduertise you of here, because formerly also you doe vse this phrase. The Church is Christs, both the visible and inuisible. Next, taking *matters of Faith for foundations or articles of Faith necessarie to saluation*, the Church of Christ hath in all ages had vniforme concord with the Protestants at this day in such matters, as appeareth by the *common rule of Faith* the Creede; and so hath also the Church vnder the Popes tyrannie. As to the *Trent-additions* they are forraine to the Faith, as neither principles nor conclusions thereof: neither can your selues shew vniforme consent and concord in them (and namely, in the 11. of them) in any one age, especially as *matters of saluation*, as now they are canonized. How much lesse can yee shew it in all other conclusions of Faith; whereabout there haue beene among you, as are now among vs, and euer will bee differences of opinions, without any prejudice for all that vnto the *vnitie of the Faith* of the Church, and *title to the name* of it. As for *Wicliffe*, *Hus*, and the rest, if they haue any of them borne record to the Truth, and resisted any innouation of corrupt Teachers in their times, euen to bloud, they are iustly to be termed *Martyrs*, yea albeit they saw not all corruptions, but in some were themselues carried away with the streame of error. Else, if because they erred in

ſome things, they bee no *Martyrs*, or becauſe wee diſſent from them in ſome things, we are not of the ſame Church, both you and we muſt quit all claime to Saint *Cyprian*, *Iuſtine Martyr*, and many more whom wee count our Ancients, and Predeceſſors, and bereaue them alſo of the honour of Martyrdome, which ſo long they haue enjoyed: You ſee, I hope, by this time the weakneſſe of your Argument.

CHAP. X.

Of the originall of reformation in Luther, Caluin; *Scotland, England, &c.*

IN your next Motiue taken *from the originall of Reformation*, before I come to anſwere your Argument ſhortly coucht in forme, I muſt endeuour to reforme your iudgement in ſundrie points of ſtorie, wherein partly you are miſſe-led and abuſed by *Parſons* and others of that ſpirit, partly you haue miſtaken ſome particulars, and out of a falſe imagination framed a like diſcourſe. Firſt for *Luther*, it was not *his rancour againſt the Dominicans* that ſtirred him vp againſt the Pope, but the ſhamefull merchandize of Indulgences, ſet to ſale in Germanie, to the aduantage of *Magdalen*, ſiſter to Pope *Leo X.* Beleeue herein if not *Sleidan* yet *Guicciardine l.* 13. And of all that mention thoſe affaires, it is acknowledged, that at the firſt, and for a good time he ſhewed all obedience, and reuerence to the Pope. The new *Hiſtorie of the Councell of Trent*, written by an *Italian* a ſubiect and part of the Church of Rome, as ſhould appeare by the Epiſtle Dedicatorie of the *Reuerend and learned Archbiſhop of Spalato*, prefixed to his Maieſtie, ſpeaketh thus of the matter. *Queſto diede occaſione, &c.* *This gaue occaſion to* Martin, *to paſſe from Indulgences to the authoritie of the Pope, which being by others proclaymed for the* Pag. 6. *higheſt*

highest in the Church, by him was made subiect to a Generall Councell lawfully celebrated. Whereof hee said that there was neede in that instant, and vrgent necessitie. And as the heat of disputation continued, by how much the more the Popes power was by others exalted, so much the more was it by him abased, yet so as Martin *contayned himselfe within the termes of speaking modestly of the person of* Leo, *and sauing sometimes his iudgement.* Againe, *After his departure from the presence of* Pag.7. *Cardinall* Cajetan *at Augusta,* hee saith, *hee wrote a letter to the Cardinall, confessing that hee had beene too vehement, and excusing himselfe by the importunitie of the Pardoners, and of those that had written against him, promising to vse more modestie in time to come, to satisfie the Pope, and not to speake any more of Indulgences, prouided that his aduersaries would doe the like.* This was *Luthers* manner at the first, till the Bull of Pope *Leo* came out, dated the ninth of Nouember, 1518. *Wherein he declared the validitie of Indulgences, and that hee as* Peters *Successor and Christs Vicar had power to grant them for the quicke and dead; that this is the doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Mother and Mistris of all Christians, and ought to bee receiued of all that would bee in the Communion of the Church.* From this time forward *Luther* began to change his stile, *And* (saith he) *as before hee had for the most part* Pag.8. *reserued the person and iudgement of the Pope, so after this Bull he resolued to refuse it, and therevpon put forth an Appeale to the Councell, &c.* You see then how submissiuely *Luther* at first carried himselfe. But extreme tyrannie ouer-comes often a well prepared patience.

Touching *his causing rebellion also against the Emperour,* yee are misse-informed: his aduice was asked about the association of the Protestants at *Smalcald,* hee said plainly, *Sleidan l.8.* hee could not see how it could bee lawfull, further then for their owne defence, *Ioh. Bodin.* in his second Booke *de Repub. cap.* 5. hath these wordes. *We reade also that the Protestant Princes of Almaine before they tooke armes against the Emperour, demanded of* Martin Luther *if it were lawfull. He*

answered freely that it was not lawfull, whatsoeuer tyrannie, or impietie were pretended. He was not beleeued; so the end thereof was miserable, and drew after it the ruine of great and illustrious houses of Germanie. As for *the warre in Germanie* it began not till after *Luthers* death, neither was it a rebellion of the Protestants; the truth is they stood for their liues. The Emperour with the helpe of the Popes both mony and armes, intended to roote them out; and although at the first the Emperour did not auow his raysing armes against them to be for Religion, yet the Pope in his Iubilee published vpon this occasion, did not let to declare to the world, that *himselfe and Cæsar had concluded a league to reduce the Heretikes by force of armes to the obedience of the Church, and therefore all should pray for the good successe of the warre.*

That *Luther* euer *reuiled the Emperour*, I did neuer till now heare or reade, and therefore would desire to know what authors you haue for it. Touching other Princes, namely, King *Henrie* the eighth, I will not defend him, who condemned himselfe thereof. It is true that he was a man of a bold and high stomacke, and specially fitted thereby through the prouidence of God, to worke vpon the heauie and dull disposition of the *Almaines*, and in so generall a *Lethargie*, as the world then was in, hee carried himselfe (as fell out somtimes) very boisterously. But *arrogancie, schisme, rebellion*, were as farre from him, as the intention it selfe *to plant a Church.*

As to his *Vow-breaking* lastly, if that Vow were foolishly made and sinfully kept, it was *iustly* broken: perhaps also *charitably*, if hee would by his owne example reforme such, as liued in whoredome, and other vncleannes, and induce them to vse the remedie that God hath appointed for the auoiding of them, to wit, honorable marriage. All this matter touching *Luther*, vnlesse I be deceiued, you haue taken from Master *Harding*; that at least touching his *rancour against the Dominicans*, for it is his very

very phraſe. But Maſter *Harding* both in this, and many things elſe diſcouereth his paſſion, and lack of true information in this affaire. When with one breath he affirmeth, that, firſt, it was *a Pardon of a Croiſade againſt the Turkes* which was preached: whereas it was *an Indulgence to thoſe that ſhould put their helping hands for the building of Saint Peters Church at Rome*, as the Articles of this Pardon printed in Engliſh, one of the Copies whereof I haue my ſelfe, doe ſhew. Secondly, next hee ſaith the preaching hereof was granted *to Friar Iohn Tetzet.* It was Friar *Iohn Thecel*, or *Tecel.* Thirdly, hee ſaith, *the Elector of Mentz* Albert *granted this to* Thecel *and the Dominicans*, whereby *Luther was bereft of the gaine hee exſpected.* The truth is, it was *Aremboldus* a Biſhop liuing at the Court of Rome, whom (hauing before been a Merchant of Genoa) *Magdalen* the Popes ſiſter put in truſt with this merchandize, that appointed the *Dominicans* to bee the retaylers of theſe Pardons. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* had nothing to doe with it, otherwiſe then to allow and ſuffer it, which occaſioned *Luther* to write to him, as to the Biſhop of *Brandenburgh*, and to *Leo* himſelfe, to repreſſe the impudence of the Pardoners. And *Luther* ſaith further in one place, that the Archbiſhop vndertooke to giue countenance to this buſineſſe, with that condition, that the halfe of the prey ſhould goe to the Pope, and himſelfe might haue the other halfe to pay for his Pall. By theſe errors heaped together it may appeare what credit it is like Maſter *Hardings* tale be worthy of, touching the remnant, that of *rancour and malice againſt the Dominicans, and becauſe hee was bereaued of that ſweet morſell, which in hope hee had almoſt ſwallowed downe*, Luther *made this ſtirre.* A hard thing mee thinks it is, for any that liued at that day to ſet downe what was in *Luthers* heart, what were his hopes, his deſires, rancour, and ſpleene; much more for Maſter *Harding*, moſt of all for you and mee. When the actions of men haue an appearance of good, Charitie would hope the beſt, Pietie

would reſerue the iudgement of the intention to God.

Let vs come *to Caluin*, touching whom I maruell not much that *you ſay nothing of all that which Bolſeck brings againſt him*, who being by his meanes chaſed out of *Geneua*, diſcouereth as I remember in the verie enetance, that hee was requeſted *by ſome of his good Maſters to write againſt him*. I once ſaw the book while I liued in *Cambridge*; it hath no ſhew of probabilitie that *Caluin* would goe about to worke a miracle to confirme his doctrine, who teacheth that miracles are no ſure and ſufficient proofe of doctrine. I maruell rather that euen in reading Doctor *Bancroft*, Maſter *Hooker*, and *Sarauia*, all oppoſites to *Caluin* in the queſtion of Church Diſcipline, and therefore not all the fitteſt to teſtifie of him or his actions, all late Writers, and ſtrangers to the Eſtate and affaires of *Geneua*: of whom therefore beſides their bare word, ſufficient proofe were to bee required of what they ſay, you not onely receiue whatſoeuer they bring, but more then they bring. You ſay, they proue what neuer came in their mindes; and what is not onely vtterly vntrue, but euen vnpoſſible. As that *Caluin by his vnquietnes and ambition reuolued the State of Geneua, ſo vniuſtly expelling and depriuing the Biſhop of Geneua, and other Temporall Lords, of their due obedience, and ancient inheritance.* When as the Biſhop and Clergie of *Geneua*, vpon the throwing downe Images there by popular tumult, departed in an anger, ſeuen yeeres ere euer *Caluin* ſet foot within the gates of that Citie. A thing not onely cleere in ſtorie, by the Writers of that time, and ſince, *Sleidan*, *Bodine*, *Caluins* Epiſtles, and life, but ſet down by thoſe whom yee cite. Maſter *Hooker* in his Preface ſpeaking of *Caluin*. *Hee fell at length vpon Geneua, which Citie the Biſhop and Clergie thereof, had a little before, as ſome doe affirme, forſaken, being of likelyhood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for the aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion.* And a little after, *At the comming of Caluin thither, the forme of their Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day, &c.*

Doctor

Doctor *Bancroft*. *The ſame yeere that Geneua was aſſaulted* viz. by the Duke of Sauoy, and the Biſhop, as he had ſaid before, Page 13.) *which was Anno* 1536. *Maſter Caluin came thither*. If *Caluin* at his comming found the forme of the gouernment popular, If hee came thither the ſame yeere that the Biſhop made war vpon Geneua to recouer his authoritie, being indeede either affrighted, or hauing forſaken the Towne before, how could *Caluin* expel him? And in truth *Bodine* in his ſecond Booke, *De Rep.* Chapter firſt, affirmeth, *That the ſame yeere Genoa was eſtabliſhed in a State Ariſtocraticall, which was, hee ſaith, Anno* 1528. *Geneua was changed from a Monarchy Pontificall, into an Eſtate Popular, gouerned Ariſtocratically, although that long before the Towne pretended to bee free, againſt the Earle, and againſt the Biſhop, &c.* What *Sarania* hath written touching this point I cannot tell, as not hauing his Booke. But in *Beza* his anſwere to him, there is no touch vpon any ſuch thing. He ioynes with his complaint, *of the ſacrilegious vſurping Eccleſiaſticall goods*, in anſwere to his Proëme. He diſſents in that *Sarania* accounts the *Seniors of the reformed Churches like to that kinde which Saint Ambroſe ſpeakes of, brought in out of wiſdome onely, to rule the diſorderly*. *Beza* ſaith, they were not *introducti*, but *reducti*, *Cap.* 12. For the reſt in all that anſwere there is nothing of *Caluin*, or any ſuch *reuolting* of the ſtate as you accuſe him of. Which makes mee thinke, that herein your memorie deceiued you. It may be that in your younger time, falling vpon theſe Authors, by occaſion of the queſtion of Diſcipline, which was then much toſſed, ere euer your iudgement were ripened, you formed in your minde a falſe impreſſion of that which they ſay of *Caluin*. You conceited them out of your zeale in the cauſe, to ſay more then they do, & thus poſſible vnawares receiued the ſeeds of diſlike of the *doctrine of Caluin*, as well as *his diſcipline*, which haue ſince taken root in you. But you ſhall doe well to remember, the difference you put a little before of theſe two, Chriſtian *doctrine* is

vniforme

vniforme and euer the ſame ; *gouernment* is changeable in many circumſtances, according to the exigence of times and perſons. And euen the ſame men that write ſomewhat eagerly againſt Maſter *Caluin*, yet giue him the praiſe *of wiſdome*, to ſee what for that time and ſtate was neceſſarie. Maſter *Hooker* ſaith of him, *That he thinkes him incomparably the wiſeſt man that euer the French Church did enioy ſince the houre it enioyed him*, and of his platforme of diſcipline, after hee hath laid downe the ſumme of it. *This deuice I ſee not how the wiſeſt at that time liuing could haue bettered, if wee duely conſider what the preſent ſtate of Geneua did then require.* But bee it (and for my part I thinke no leſſe) that herein hee was miſtaken, to account this to bee the true forme of Church policie, by which all other Churches, and at all times ought to bee gouerned; let his error reſt with him, yea, let him anſwere it vnto his Iudge; but to accuſe him of ambition, and ſedition, and that falſly, and from thence to ſet that brand vpon the reformation, whereof he was a worthy inſtrument (though not the firſt either there, or any where elſe) as if it could not bee from God, being ſo founded; for my part I am afraide you can neuer bee able to anſwere it, at the ſame Barre; no, nor euen that of your owne conſcience, or of reaſonable and equall men.

For the *ſtirres, broiles, ſeditions, and murthers in Scotland, which you impute to Knox and, and the Geneua Goſpellers*, they might be occaſioned perhaps by the reformers there, as the broiles which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ſaith he came to ſet in the world by the Goſpell. Poſſible alſo, that good men out of incõſiderate zeale, ſhould do ſome things raſhly. And like enough the multitude which followed them, as being foreprepared with a iuſt hatred of the tyrannie of their Prelates, and prouoked by the oppoſition of the aduerſe faction, & emboldned by ſucceſſe, ran a great deale further then either wiſe men could foreſee, or tell how to reſtraine them. Which was applauded and fomented by ſome

ſome politicke men, who tooke aduantage of thoſe motions to their owne ends. And as it happens in naturall bodies, that all ill humors runne to the part affected, ſo in ciuill, all diſcontented people when there is any ſorance runne to one or other ſide; and vnder the ſhew of common griefes, purſue their owne. Of all which diſtempers, there is no reaſon to lay the blame vpon the ſeekers of reformation, more then vpon the Phiſitians, of ſuch accidents as happen to the corrupted bodies which they haue in cure. The particulars of thoſe affaires are as I beleeue alike vnknown to vs both, and ſince you name none, I can anſwere to none. For as for the *purſuing our King euen before his birth*, that which his Maieſtie ſpeakes of *ſome Puritans*, is ouer-boldly by you referred to Maſter *Knox and the Miniſters*, that were authors of Reformation in Scotland. Briefely, conſider and ſuruey your owne thoughts, and ſee if you haue not come by theſe degrees: Firſt, from the inconſiderate courſes of ſome to plant the pretended *Diſcipline* in Scotland, to conceiue amiſſe of the *Doctrine* alſo. Then to draw to the encreaſing of your ill conceit thereof, what you finde reported of any of the *Puritans*, a faction no leſſe oppoſed by his Maieſty in *Scotland* then with vs in *England*. So when we ſpeake of religion (though that indeede be all one) yee diuide vs into *Lutherans, Zwinglians, Caluiniſts, Proteſtants, Browniſts, Puritans*, & *Cartwrightiſts*, whenſoeuer any diſorder of all this number can be accuſed, then loe are we *all one*, and the fault of any faction is the ſlander of all, yea of *the Goſpell* it ſelfe, and of *reformation*. Iudge now vprightly if this be indifferent dealing.

From *Scotland* you come to *England*. Where becauſe you could finde nothing done by popular tumult, nothing but by the whole ſtate in *Parliament*, and Clergie in *Conuocation*, you fall vpon *King Henries paſſions*, you *will not inſiſt vpon them* you ſay; and yet you doe, as long as vpon any one member of your induction, though it matters little

whether you doe or no, since F. *Parsons* will needes auerre that hee liued and died of your religion. Here first you mention, his *violent diuorcing himselfe from his lawfull wife.* Wee will not now debate the question how his Brothers wife could bee his lawfull wife: you must now say so. Whatsoeuer the Scriptures, Councels, almost all Vniuersities of Christendome determined. Yet mee thinkes it should moue you that Pope *Clement* himselfe had consigned to Cardinal *Campegius* a *Breue* formed to sentence for the King, in as ample manner as could be, howsoeuer vpon the successe of the Emperours affaires, in Italie and his own occasions, he sent a special messenger to him to burn it. But what violence was this that you speake of? The matter was orderlie and iudiciouslie by the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* with the assistance of the learnedest of the Clergie according to the ancient Canons of the Church, and lawes of the Realme heard and determined. That indeede is more to be maruelled at, what *moued him to fall out with the Pope* his friend in whose quarrell he had so far engaged himselfe, as to write against *Luther*, of whom also he was so rudelie handled as you mention before; hauing receiued also for some part of recompence, the title of *the Defender of the Faith*, hauing beene so chargeablie thankefull to the Pope for it. All these things considered, it must be said, this vnkindnesse and slipperie dealing of *Clement* with him was from the Lord, that hee might haue an occasion against the Pope, and that it might appeare that it was not humane counsell, but diuine prouidence that brought about the banishment of the Popes tyrannie from among vs. His marriage with the Ladie *Anne Bullen*, her death, and the rest which you mention of the abling or disabling her issue to inherit the Crown, I seenot what it makes to our purpose. *The suppression of the Monasteries*, was not his sole Act, but of the whole State, with the consent also of the *Clergie*, and taken out of *Cardinall Wolsey* his example, yea, founded vpon the Popes authori-

tie

tie granted to him, *to diſſolue the ſmaller houſes of religion*, on pretence to defray the charges of his ſumptuous buildings at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, wherein if it pittie you (as I confeſſe it hath ſometimes mee) that ſuch goodly buildings are defaced and ruined, wee muſt remember what God *did to Shiloh, yea to Ieruſalem it ſelfe, and his Temple there.* And that Oracle, *Euery tree that beareth not good fruit ſhall be cut downe, and caſt into the fire.* *Ier.* 7. 12. *Matth.* 3. 10.

You demand, *If this man, King Henry, were a good head of Gods Church?* What if I ſhould demand the ſame touching *Alexander* the Sixth, *Iulius* the Second, *Leo* the Tenth, or twentie more of the Catalogue of Popes, in reſpect of whom King *Henry* might bee canonized for a *Saint?* But there is a ſtorie in *Tullies* Offices of one *Lutatius*, that laid a wager that he was (*bonus vir*) a good man; and would bee iudged by one *Fimbria*, a man of Conſular dignitie. Hee, when he vnderſtood the caſe, ſaid, *Hee would neuer iudge that matter, leaſt either hee ſhould diminiſh the reputation of a man well eſteemed of, or ſet downe that any man was a good man; which hee accounted to conſiſt in an innumerable ſort of excellencies and praiſes.* That which hee ſaid of *a good man*, with much more reaſon may I ſay, of *a good King*, one of whoſe higheſt excellencies is to bee *a good head of the Church.* And therefore it is a queſtion which I will neuer take vpon mee to anſwere, *whether King Henry were ſuch or no*, vnleſſe you will before hand interpret this word as fauourably, as *Guicciardine* doth tell vs men are wont to doe in the cenſuring *your heads of the Church. For Popes*, he ſaith, *now adayes are praiſed for their goodneſſe, when they exceed not the wickedneſſe of other men.* After this deſcription of a *good head of the Church*, or if yee will that of *Cominæus*, which ſaith hee is to bee counted *a good King, whoſe vertues exceeds his vices.* I wil not doubt to ſay King *Henry* may be enrolled among the number of good Kings. In ſpeciall, for his executing that higheſt dutie of a good King, *the imploying his authoritie in his Kingdome,* *Lib.* 16.

to command good things, and forbid euill, not onely concerning the ciuill eſtate of men, but the religion alſo of God. Witneſſe his *authorizing the Scriptures to be had and read in Churches in our Vulgar tongue, enioyning the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and ten Commandements to bee taught the people in Engliſh, aboliſhing ſuperfluous Holy-dayes, pulling downe thoſe ingling Idols*, whereby the people were ſeduced, namely, *the Rood of Grace*, whoſe eyes and lips were moued with wires, openly ſhewed at *Pauls Croſſe*, and pulled aſunder by the people. Aboue all, the *aboliſhing of the Popes tyranny, and merchandiſe of Indulgences*, & ſuch like chafer out of England. Which Acts of his whoſoeuer ſhall vnpartially conſider of, may well eſteeme him a better head to the Church of England, then any Pope theſe thouſand yeeres.

In the laſt place you come *to the Hugenots and Geuſes, of France and Holland.* You lay to their charge, *the raiſing of ciuill warres, ſhedding of bloud, occaſioning rebellion, rapine, deſolations, principally for their new religion.* In the latter part you write, I confeſſe, ſomewhat reſeruedly, when you ſay, *occaſioning*, not *cauſing*, and *principally*, not *onely and wholly*, for religion. But the words going before, and the exigence of your argument require, that your meaning ſhould be, they were the cauſers of theſe diſorders. You bring to my minde a ſtory, whether of the ſame *Fimbria* that I mentioned before, or another, which hauing cauſed *Quintus Scæuola* to bee ſtab'd (as *F. Paula* was, while I was at *Venice*) after he vnderſtood that he eſcaped with his life, brought his action againſt him, *for not hauing receiued the weapon wholly into his body.* Theſe poore people hauing endured ſuch barbarous cruelties, maſſacres, and martyrdomes, as ſcarce the like can be ſhewed in all ſtories, are now accuſed by you as the Authors of all they ſuffered. No, no, Maſter *Wadeſworth*, they bee the Lawes of the Romane religion, that are written in bloud. It is the bloudy *Inquiſition*, and the perfidious violating of the

Edicts

Edicts of Pacification, that haue ſet *France* and *Flanders* in combuſtion. An euident argument whereof may bee, for *Flanders*, that thoſe *Geuſes* that you mention, were not all Caluiniſts (as you are miſ-informed) the chiefe of them were Romane Catholikes; as namely, Count *Egmond*, and *Horne*, who loſt their heads for ſtanding, and yet onely by petition, againſt the new impoſitions, and the Inquiſition, which was ſought to bee brought in vpon thoſe Countries. The which when the *Vice-roy of Naples, D. Petro de Toledo* would haue once brought in there alſo, *An.* 1547. the people would by no meanes abide, but roſe vp in Armes to the number of 50000. which ſedition could not bee appeaſed, but by deliuering them of that feare. The like reſiſtance, though more quietly carried, was made when the ſame Inquiſition ſhould haue beene put 1563. vpon *Millaine*, ſixteene yeeres after. Yet theſe people were neither *Geuſes* nor *Caluiniſts*. Another great meanes to alienate the mindes of the people of the Low-countries from the obedience of the Catholike Maieſtie, hath beene the ſeueritie of his Deputies there, one of which leauing the gouernment after hee had in a few yeeres put to death * 8000. perſons, it is reported to haue been ſaid, * 18000. the Countrie was loſt with too much lenitie. This ſpeech *Meurſius* concludes his *Belgick hiſtory* with all. And as for *France*, the firſt broiles there, were not for religion, but for the preferring the houſe of *Guiſe*, and diſgracing the Princes of the blood. True it is that each ſide aduantaged themſelues by the colour of religion, and vnder pretence of zeale to the Romane, the *Guiſians* murthered the Proteſtants, being in the exerciſe of their religion aſſembled together, againſt the Kings Edict, againſt all Lawes and common humanitie. And tell mee in good ſooth, Maſter *Wadſworth*, doe you approue ſuch barbarous cruelties? Doe you allow the *butchery at Paris*? Doe you thinke ſubiects are bound to giue their throates to bee cut by their fellow ſubiects, or to their Princes at their meere wills

againſt their owne Lawes and Edicts? You would know, *quo iure*, the Proteſtants warres in France and Holland are iuſtified. Firſt, the Law of *Nature*, which not onely alloweth, but inclineth and inforceth euery liuing thing, to defend it ſelfe from violence. Secondly, that of *Nations*, which permitteth thoſe that are in the protection of others, to whom they owe no more but an honourable acknowledgement, in caſe they goe about to make themſelues abſolute Souereignes, and vſurpe their libertie, to reſiſt and ſtand for the ſame. And if a lawfull Prince (which is not yet Lord of his Subiects liues and goods) ſhall attempt to deſpoile them of the ſame, vnder colour of reducing them to his owne religion after all humble remonſtrances, they may ſtand vpon their owne guard, and being aſſailed, repell force with force, as did the Machabees vnder *Antiochus*. In which caſe notwithanding, the perſon of the Prince himſelfe, ought alwaies to be ſacred and inuiolable, as was *Sauls* to *Dauid*. Laſtly, if the inraged Miniſter of a lawfull Prince, will abuſe his authoritie againſt the fundamentall Lawes of the Countrie, it is no rebellion to defend themſelues againſt force, reſeruing ſtill their obedience to their Souereigne inuiolate. Theſe are the Rules of which the Proteſtants that haue borne Armes in France and Flanders, and the Papiſts alſo both there and elſewhere, as in *Naples*, that haue ſtood for the defence of their liberties, haue ſerued themſelues. How truely I eſteeme it hard for you and mee to determine, vnleſſe we were more throughly acquainted with the Lawes and Cuſtomes of thoſe Countries, then I for my part am. Once for *the Low-Countries*, the world knowes that the Dukes of *Burgundy* were not Kings or abſolute Lords of them, which are holden partly of the Crowne of *France*, and partly of the Empire. And of Holland in particular they were but Earles. And whether that title carries with it ſuch a Souereigntie, as to bee able to giue new Lawes, without their conſents, to impoſe tributes, to bring in garriſons

risons of strangers, to build Forts, to assubjects their honors and liues to the dangerous triall of a new Court, proceeding *without forme or figure of iustice*, any reasonable man may well doubt; themselues doe vtterly denie it.

Yet you say boldly *they are Rebels*, and aske *why wee did support them?* It seemes to some that his *Catholike Maiestie* doth absolue them in the treatie of the Truce, *An.* 1608. of all *imputation of rebellion.* And if they were Rebels, especially for heresie, why did the most Christian King support them? As for Queene *Elizabeth*, if shee were aliue, shee would answer your question with another. *Why did Spaine concurre in practice and promise aide to that detestable conspiracie that was plotted against her by Pius V.* as you may see at large in his life, written by *Girolamo Catena?* It is, you say, *an easie matter to pretend priuiledges.* But it is no hard matter to discerne pretended priuiledges from true, and *Treason* from *Reason* of State, and old corruptions from *old Religion.* But to take armes to change the Lawes by the whole Estate established, is treason whatsoeuer the cause or colour be: and therefore is was treason in the Rebels of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in King *Henries* dayes, and in the Earles *of the North* in Queene *Elizabeths*, though they pretended their old Religion: and the same must bee said of all Assasinates attempted against the persons of Princes, as *Parryes, Someruilles, Squires*, against Queene *Elizabeth*, and *the late powder-plot the eternall shame of Poperie against King Iames.*

To your Argument therefore in forme, admitting *that it is no true Church, which is founded and begun in malice, disobedience, passion, bloud, and rebellion*, no nor yet a true reformation of a Church (for in truth the Protestants pretend not to haue founded any.) The Assumption is denyed in euery part of it. And here I must needes say you haue not done vnwisely to leaue out the Church of *England*, as against which you had no pretence, all things hauing been carried orderly, and by publike counsell. But you haue wronged

wronged thoſe which you name, and either lightly beleeued, or vnjuſtly ſurmiſed your ſelfe, touching *Luther*, *Caluin*, *Knox*, the *French*, and the *Hollanders*, when you make them the *rayſers of rebellion and ſhedders of blood*. Whoſe bloud hath beene ſhed like water in al parts of thoſe countries, againſt all Lawes of God and Man againſt the Edicts and publike Faith, till neceſſitie enforced them to ſtand for their liues. Yet you preſume that all this *is euident* to the world, whereas it is ſo falſe and improbable, yea in ſome parts *impoſſible*, as I wonder how your heart could aſſure your hand to write it.

Giue me here leaue to ſet down by occaſion of this your motiue, that which I profeſſe next to the euidence of thoſe corruptions which the Court and faction of Rome maintaynes, hath long moued my ſelfe. And thus I would enlarge your Propoſition. That *Monarchie* (as now without liſping it cals it ſelfe) which was founded, ſupported, enlarged, and is yet maintayned by pride, ambition, rebellion, treaſon, murthering of Princes, warres, diſpenſing with perjurie, and inceſtuous marriages, ſpoiles and robberie of Churches, and Kingdomes, worldly policie, force and falſhood, forgerie, lying, and hypocriſie, is not the Church of Chriſt, and his Kingdome, but the tyrannie of Antichriſt. The Papacie falſely calling it ſelfe the Church of Rome is ſuch. *Ergo*. The Aſſumption ſhall bee proued in euery part of it, and in truth is alreadie by the learned and truly noble *Lord of Pleſſis* in his *Myſterium iniquitatis*. But his booke I ſuppoſe you cannot view, and it would require a iuſt volume to ſhew it, though but ſhortly. It ſhall bee therefore, if you will, the taske of another time. And yet becauſe I doe not loue to leaue things wholly at randon, conſider a few inſtances in ſome of theſe. Pope *Boniface* III. obtayned that proud and ambitious title of *Oecumenicall*, ſo much deteſted by Saint *Gregorie*. Pope *Conſtantine* and *Gregorie* the ſecond, reuolted Italie from the Greeke Emperours obedience, forbidding to pay tribute or obey them.

them. Pope *Zacharie* animated *Pipine* high Steward of France, to depoſe *Chilperick* his Lord, and diſpenſed with the oathes of his ſubiects. Pope *Stephen* II. moſt treacherouſly and vniuſtly perſwaded the ſame *Pipine* not to reſtore the *Exarchate of Rauenna* to the Emperour, after he had recouered it from *Aſtulfus* King of *Lombards*, but to giue it to him. Pope *Nicholas* II. and *Gregorie* VII. parted the prey with the *Normans* in *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, creating them *Dukes* thereof, to hold the *Emperour of Conſtantinoples* countrie in vaſſallage of them. This latter alſo was the firſt as all Hiſtorians accord, that euer attempted to depoſe the Emperour, againſt whom hee moſt impiouſly ſtirred vp his owne children, which moſt lamentably brought him to his end. Pope *Paſchal* II. would not ſuffer (for the full accompliſhment of this Tragedie) his ſonne to burie him. Pope *Adrian* IV. demanded homage of the Emperor *Frederick*. *Alexander* III. trode on his neck. *Celeſtine* III. crowned *Henrie* VI. with his feet. *Innocent* IV. ſtirred vp *Fredericke* the ſeconds owne ſeruants to poiſon him, practiſed with the Sultan of Ægypt to breake with him. This is that *Innocent*, of whoſe extortions *Matthew Paris* relates ſo much in our ſtorie; whom the learned, zealous, *and holy Biſhop of Lincolne* on his deathbed proued *to be Antichriſt*, and in a viſion ſtrooke ſo with his Croſier-ſtaffe that hee died. *Boniface* VIII. challenged both ſwords, pretended to be ſuperiour to the King of France in temporall things alſo. *Clement* V. would in the vacancie of the Empire, that all the Cities and Countries thereof ſhould be vnder his diſpoſition, made the Duke of *Venice*, *Dandalus*, couch vnder his Table with a chaine on his neck like a dogge, ere he would grant peace to the *Venetians*. *This Clement the V. commanded the Angels* to carrie their ſoules to heauen, that ſhould take the Croſſe to fight for the holy Land. *Henrie IV.*

What ſhall I ſay more? I am wearie with writing thus much, and yet in all this I doe not inſiſt vpon priuate and

perſonall faults, blaſphemies, perjuries, necromancies, murthers, barbarous cruelties, euen vpon one another, aliue and dead, nor on whoredomes, inceſts, ſodomies, open pillages, beſides the perpetuall abuſe of the cenſures of the Church. I inſiſt not vpon theſe, more then you did vpon King *Henries paſſions*. I tell you not of him that called the *Goſpell a fable*, or another that inſtituted his *Agnus Dei to ſtrangle ſinne like Chriſts bloud*. Of him that diſpenſed with one to marrie his owne ſiſter (for the vncle to marrie with the neece, or a woman to marrie two brothers, a man two ſiſters by diſpenſation, is no rare thing at this day.) The facultie to vſe Sodomie, *the ſtorie of Pope Ioane*, are almoſt incredible, and yet they haue Authors of better credit then *Bolſeck*. It may bee ſaid that *Iohn* the two and twentieth *called a deuill incarnate*, that *Alexander* VI. the poiſoner of his Cardinals, the adulterer of his ſonne in lawes bed, inceſtuous defiler of his owne daughter, and riuall in that villanie to his ſonne, ſinned as men, which empeacheth not the credit of their office. That *Paulus V. Vice-deus* takes too much vpon him, when hee will bee *Pope-almightie*; but the chaire is without error. Wherein, not to inſiſt for the preſent, but admitting it as true that wickednesſe of mens perſons doth not impeach the holineſſe of their functions, which they haue receiued of God, nor make Gods ordinances, as his Word and Sacraments of none effect. But tell me for Gods loue, Maſter *Waddeſworth*, is it likely that this *Monarchie* thus ſought, thus gotten, thus kept, thus exerciſed, is of God? Are theſe men that wholly forſaking the feeding of the flocke of God dreame of nothing now but Crowns and Scepters, ſerue to the Church to no vſe in the world, vnleſſe it be to breake the ancient Canons, and oppreſſe with their power all that ſhall but vtter a free word againſt their ambition and tyrannie, are they, I will not ſay with you, *good heads of Gods Church*, but members of it, and not rather limbes of Satan? Conſider thoſe Texts: *My Kingdome is not of this world;*

world, Vos autem non ſic. Conſider the charge which Saint *Peter* giues to his fellow Presbyters, 1. *Pet.* 5. 2, 3, 4. Now I beſeech our Lord deliuer his Church from this tyrannie, and bleſſe you from being a member of ſuch a Head.

CHAP. XI.

Of lacke of ſucceſſion, Biſhops, true Ordinations, Orders, Prieſthood.

I Come now to your motiue *from ſucceſſion.* Where I maruell firſt, that leauing the ſucceſſion of Doctrine, which is farre more proper and intrinſecall to the Churches being, you ſtand vpon that of Perſons and Offices. Yea, and about them too, immediately paſſe from that which is of Eſſence, to the externall formalities *in conſecration and ordination, according to the ancient Councels.* Haue you forgotten what you ſaid right now, *that matters of ceremonie and gouernment are changeable?* Yea, but *in France, Holland, and Germanie, they haue no Biſhops.* Firſt, what if I ſhould defend they haue? becauſe a Biſhop and a Presbyter are all one, as Saint *Ierome* maintaines, and prooues out of holy Scripture, and the vſe of Antiquitie. Of which iudgement, as *Medina* confeſſeth, are ſundrie of the ancient Fathers, both Greeke and Latine; Saint *Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Sedulius, Primaſius, Chryſoſtome, Theodorit, Oecumenius,* and *Theophylact:* which point I haue largely treated of in another place, againſt him that vndertooke Maſter *Alablaſters* quarrell. Beſides, thoſe Churches in *Germanie* haue thoſe whom they call *Superintendents,* and *generall Superintendents,* as out of Doctor *Bancroft* by the teſtimonie of *Zanchius,* and ſundrie Germane Diuines, you might perceiue. Yea, and where theſe are not, *as in Geneua, and the French Churches, yet there are,* ſaith *Zanchius, vſually certaine chiefe men that doe in a manner beare all the* *Cap.* 8.

ſway, as if order it ſelfe and neceſſitie led them to this courſe. And what are theſe but *Biſhops* indeede, vnleſſe wee ſhall wrangle about names, which for *reaſon of State* thoſe Churches were to abſtaine from. As for that you ſay *Laymen intermeddle* there *with the making of their Miniſters*, if you meane *the election of them*, they haue reaſon; for anciently the people had alwayes a right therein, as Saint *Cyprian* writes to the Churches of *Leon* and *Aſtorga* there in Spaine, *Plebs ipſa maxime habet poteſtatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recuſandi*; and in ſundrie places of *Italie* this vſage doth continue to this day. If yee meane it in *Ordination*, yee are deceiued, and wrong theſe Churches, as *Bellarmine* himſelfe will teach you, *lib. De Clericis, cap. 3. For amongſt the Lutherans and Caluiniſts alſo*, ſaith hee, *which haue taken away almoſt all Eccleſiaſticall rites, they onely lay on hands and make Paſtors and Miniſters, who though they be not Paſtors and Biſhops indeede would be ſo accounted and called.*

In England you *miſſe firſt the leſſer orders*, and ſay, we *are made Miniſters per ſaltum*, as if all that are made Prieſts among you were *Pſalmiſts*, *Sextens*, *Readers*, *Exorciſts*, *Torch-bearers*, *Subdeacons*, and *Deacons* before. Remember I pray what the Maſter of the Sentences ſaith of Deaconſhip and Prieſthood. *Hos ſolos primitiua Eccleſia legitur habuiſſe, & de his ſolis præceptum Apoſtoli habemus.* Hee meanes in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*. Againe, *Subdiaconos vero & Acolythos procedente tempore Eccleſia ſibi conſtituit.* What? and were the Primitiue and Apoſtolike Churches no true Churches? or neede wee to bee aſhamed to bee like them? Beſides, thoſe Councels that yee ſpeake of, it ſhould ſeeme were of no great either antiquitie or authoritie, when not onely Presbyters, without paſſing through any order, but Biſhops without being ſo much as baptized, were ordayned. As *Nectarius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Syneſius* of *Cyrene*, *Ambroſe* of *Millaine*, *Conſtantine* II. of *Rome* it ſelfe. This therefore is a very ſleight exception.

Your

Your next is well worſe, *touching the Ordination at the Nags-head, where the Conſecration of our firſt Biſhops, as you ſay was attempted, but not effected. It is certaine, you ſay, and you are ſure there was ſuch a matter, although you know, and haue ſeene the records themſelues, that afterward there was a Conſecration of Doctor Parker at Lambeth.* Alas Maſter *Wadeſworth*, if you bee reſolued to beleeue lies, not onely againſt publike Acts, and your owne eye-ſight, but againſt all probabilitie, who can helpe it? I had well hoped to haue found that ingenuitie in you, that I might haue vſed your teſtimony vnto others of that ſide, touching the vanitie of this fable, as hauing ſhewed you the Copie of the record of Doctor *Parkers* conſecration, which I had procured to bee tranſcribed out of the Acts, which your ſelfe alſo at your returne from *London*, told mee you ſaw in a blacke Booke. Now I perceiue by your perplexed writing, and enterlining in this part of your Letter, you would faine diſcharge your conſcience, and yet vphold this lie, perhaps, as loth to offend that ſide where you now are: and therefore you haue deuiſed this temper, that the *one was attempted*, the other *effected*. But it will not bee. For firſt of all, if that at the Nags-head were but *attempted*, what is that to the purpoſe of our Ordinations, which are not deriued from it, but from the other, which as you ſay was *effected* at *Lambeth*? And are you *ſure there was ſuch a matter*? How are you ſure? Were you preſent there in perſon, or haue you heard it of thoſe that were preſent? Neither of both I ſuppoſe: but if it were ſo that ſome bodie pretending to haue beene there preſent told you ſo much, how are you ſure that hee lied not in ſaying ſo; much more when you haue it but at the third, or fourth hand, perhaps the thirtieth or fortieth. But conſider a little, is it probable that men of that ſort, in an action of that importance, and at the beginning of the Queenes reigne, when eſpecially it concerned both them and her to prouide, that all things ſhould bee done with

reputation, would bee so hastie and heedlesse, as to take a Tauerne for a Church? Why might they not haue gone to the next Church as well? They thought to make the old Catholike Bishop drunken. Thus the *Wisbich and Framyngham Priests* were wont to tell the tale. Is it likely that they would not forethinke that possible this good old man would not drinke so freely as to bee drunken, and if hee were, yet would not be in the humour to doe as they would haue him? for who can make any foundation vpon what another would doe in his cups? What a scorne would this bee to them? Men are not alwaies so prouident in their actions. True, but such men are not to bee imagined so sottish, as to attempt so solemne an action, and ioyned commonly with some great feast, and as you obserued well out of the Acts, with the Queens mandate for the action to be done, and hang all vpon a drunken fit of an old man. Besides, how comes it to passe that wee could neuer vnderstand the names of the old Bishop, or of those whom hee should haue consecrated, or which *consecrated themselues, when hee refused to doe it.* For so doe your men giue it out; howsoeuer you say, *it was not there effected.* And in all the space of Queene *Elizabeths* reigne, wherein so many set themselues against the reformation by her established, is it possible wee should neuer haue heard word of it, of all the English on that side the Seas, if it had beene any other then a flying tale? After fortie fiue yeeres, there is found at last an Irish Iesuite that dares put it in print, to proue by it as now you doe, *that the Parliamentary Pastors lacke holy orders.* But he relates sundry particulars, and brings his proofes. For the purpose, this ordainer or consecrater, hee saith, was *Landasensis Episcopus homo senex & simplex.* His name? Nay, that yee must pardon him. But of what Citie or Dioceese was hee Bishop? for wee haue none of that title. Here I thought once that by errour it had beene put for *Landaffensis* of Landaffe in Wales, saue that three times in that Narration

Christophorus à Sacro bosco Dublinensis.

on it is written *Landaſenſis*; which notwithſtanding, I continued to bee of the ſame minde, becauſe I found Biſhop *Boners* name twice alike falſe written *Bomerus*. But loe in the Margent a direction to the Booke, *De Schiſmate fol.* 166. where hee ſaith this matter is touched, and *it is directly affirmed, that they performed the Office of Biſhops, without any Epiſcopall conſecration.* Againe, *that great labour was vſed without an Iriſh Arch-biſhop in priſon at London to ordaine them, but hee could by no meanes be brought thereto.* So it ſeemes we muſt paſſe out of *Wales* into *Ireland*, to finde the See of this Biſhop or Archbiſhop. But I beleeue we may ſaile from thence to *Virginia* to ſeeke him; for in Ireland we ſhal not find him. Let vs come to thoſe that he ſhould haue ordained, what were there names? *Candidati*, if that wil content you, more yee get not. Why they might haue been remembred as well as the *Nags-head*, as well as *Bomers* name, and his See, and that hee was *Deane of the Biſhops*, hee meanes of the Archbiſhopricke, *ſede vacante*, and that he ſent his Chaplaine (his name alſo is vnknowne) to forbid the Ordination. At leaſt their *Sees*. To cut the matter ſhort. *Quid plura? Scorum Monachus olim Herefordenſis pſeudo-epiſcopus cæteris, ex cæteris quidam, Scoræo manus imponunt: fiuntque ſine patre filij & pater à filijs procreatur, res ſeculis omnibus inaudita.* Here is at length ſome certaintie: ſome truth mingled among, to giue the better grace, and to be as it were the *Vehiculum* of a lie. For *Iohn Scory*, in King *Edward* his times, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and after of *Hereford*, was one of thoſe that ordained Doctor *Parker*, and preached at his ordination. But that was the ordination *effected* as you call it: wee are now in that which was not *effected*, but *attempted* onely. And here wee ſeeke againe, who were theſe *quidams* that laid hands on *Scory*? Wee may goe looke them with *Landaſenſis* the Archbiſhop of Ireland. Well; heare the proofes. Maſter *Thomas Neale, Hebrew Reader of Oxford, which was preſent, told thus much to the ancient Confeſſors, they to F. Halywood.*

This

This proofe by *Tradition* as you know is of little credit with Proteſtants, and no maruell: for experience ſhewes that reports ſuffer ſtrange alterations in the carriage, euen when the reporters are not intereſſed. *Irenæus* relates from
Lib. 2. c. 39. the *ancient Confeſſors, which had ſeene Iohn the Diſciple, and the other Apoſtles of the Lord*, and heard it from them, that *Chriſt our Sauiour was betweene fortie and fiftie yeeres of age before his paſſion.* I doe not thinke you are ſure it was ſo. For my part, I had rather beleeue *Irenæus and thoſe ancients* hee mentions, and the Apoſtles; then F. *Haliwood* and his *Confeſſors*, and Maſter *Neale*. But poſſible it is, M. *Neale* ſaid, *hee was preſent at Matthew Parkers ordination by Iohn Scory.* Theſe *Confeſſors* being before impreſſed, as you are, with the buzze of the ordination at the *Nags-head* made vp that tale; and put it vpon him for their Author. Perhaps Maſter *Neale* did eſteeme *Iohn Scory to bee no Biſhop*, and ſo was ſcandalized though cauſeleſly, at that action. Perhaps Maſter *Neale* neuer ſaid any ſuch word at all. To helpe to make good this matter, hee ſaith, *It was after inacted in Parliament, that theſe Parliamentary Biſhops ſhould be holden for lawfull.* I looked for ſome thing of the *Nags-head Biſkops*, and the Legend of their ordination. But the lawfulneſſe that the Parliament prouides for, is (according to the authoritie the *Parliament* hath) *ciuill*, that is, according to the Lawes of the Land. The Parliament neuer intended to iuſtifie any thing as lawfull, *iure diuino*, which was not ſo; as by the Preamble it ſelfe of the Sta-
8. Eliz. c. 1. tute may appeare. In which it is ſaid, *That diuers queſtions had growne vpon the making and conſecrating of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, within this Realme, whether the ſame were, and bee duely and orderly done according to the Law or not, &c.* And ſhortly to cut off *F. Halywoods* ſurmiſes, the caſe was this, as may bee gathered by the bodie of the Statute. Whereas in the fiue and twentieth of *Henry* the Eight, an Act was made for the *electing and conſecrating of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops within this Realme.* And another in the third

third of *Edward* the Sixth, *for the ordering and conſecrating of them, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters*, according to ſuch forme as by ſixe Prelates, and ſixe other learned men in Gods Law to bee appointed by the King ſhould bee deuiſed, and ſet forth, vnder the great Seale of England. Which forme in the fifth of the ſame Kings reigne, was annexed to the Booke of Common Prayer, then explained, and perfected; and both confirmed by the authoritie of Parliament. All theſe Acts were 1. *Mariæ* & 1. & 2. *Philippi* & *Mariæ* repealed; together with another Statute of 35. *Henr.* 8. touching *the ſtile of ſupreame Head to bee vſed in all Letters Patents and Commiſſions, &c.* Theſe Acts of repeale in the 1. *Elizabeth* were againe repealed, and the Act of 25. *Hen.* 8. reuiued ſpecially. That of 3. *Edwar.* 6. onely concerning the Booke of Common Prayer, &c. without any particular mention of the booke or forme of ordering Miniſters and Biſhops. Hence grew one doubt, whether ordinations and conſecrations according to that forme were good in Law or no. Another was, Queene *Elizabeth* in her Letters Patents touching ſuch Conſecrations, Ordinations had not vſed as may ſeeme, beſides other generall words importing the higheſt authoritie in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, the title of Supreame Head, as King *Henry*, and King *Edward* in their like Letters Patents were wont to do: & that notwithſtanding the Act of 35. *Hen.* 8. after the repeale of the former repeale might ſeeme (though neuer ſpecially) reuiued. This as I gheſſe was another exception, to thoſe that by vertue of thoſe Patents were Conſecrated. Whereupon the Parliament declares. Firſt, *that the Booke of Common Prayer, and ſuch order and forme for conſecrating of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, &c. as was ſet forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, and added thereto and authoriſed by Parliament, ſhall ſtand in force and be obſerued.* Secondly, That *all Acts done by any perſon about any conſecration, confirmation, or inueſting of any elect to the Office or Dignitie of*

Arch-biſhop or Biſhop, by vertue of the Queenes Letters Patents or Commiſſion, ſince the beginning of her reigne bee good. Thirdly, That all that haue beene *ordered or conſecrated Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, &c. after the ſaid forme and order, be rightly made, ordered, and conſecrated, any Statute, Law, Canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.* Theſe were the reaſons of that Act; which as you ſee doth not make good the *Nags-head*-ordination as *F. Halywood* pretends, vnleſſe the ſame were according to the forme in *Edward* the Sixth dayes. His next proofe is, that *Boner Biſhop of London while hee liued, alwayes ſet light by the Statutes of the Parliaments of Queene Elizabeth, alleadging that there wanted Biſhops, without whoſe conſent by the Lawes of the Realme there can no firme Statuee bee made.* That *Boner* deſpiſed and ſet not a ſtraw by the Acts of Parliament in Queene *Elizabeths* time, I hold it not impoſſible, and yet there is no other proofe thereof, but his bare word, and the ancient *Confeſſors tradition*, of which we heard before. Admitting this for certaine, there might bee other reaſons thereof, beſides the ordination at the *Nags-head*. The ſtiffeneſſe of that man was no leſſe in King *Edwards* time, then Queene *Elizabeths*. And indeed the want alſo of Biſhops might be the cauſe, why he little regarded the Acts of her firſt Parliament. For both much about the time of Queene *Maries* death dyed alſo *Cardinall Poole*, and ſundry other Biſhops: and of the reſt ſome for their contemptuous behauiour in denying to performe their dutie in the Coronation of the Queene were committed to priſon, others abſented themſelues willingly. So as it is commonly reported to this day, there was none or very few there. For as for Doctor *Parker* and the reſt, they were not ordained till *December*, 1559. the Parliament was diſſolued in the *May* before. So not to ſtand now to refute *Boners* conceit, that according to our Lawes there could bee no Statutes made in Parliament without Biſhops (wherein our Parliament men wil rectifie his

his iudgement) *F. Halywood* was in this report twice deceiued, or would deceiue his Reader. Firſt, that he would make that exception which *Boner* laid againſt the *firſt Parliament* in Queen *Elizabeths* time, to be true of all the reſt. Then, that he accounts B. *Boner* to haue excepted againſt this Parliament, becauſe the Biſhops there were no Biſhops as not canonically ordained: where it was, becauſe there was no Biſhops true or falſe there at all. His laſt proofe is. That *D. Bancroft being demanded of M. Alablaſter, whence their firſt Biſhops receiued their orders? anſwered, that hee hoped a Biſhop might bee ordained of a Presbyter in time of neceſſity. Silently granting, that they were not ordained by any Biſhop:* and therefore, ſaith he, *the Parliamentary Biſhops are without order Epiſcopall, & their Miniſters alſo no Prieſts. For Prieſts are not made but of Biſhops; whence Hierome.* Quid facit, &c. *What doth a Biſhop, ſauing ordination, which a Presbyter doth not?* I haue not the meanes to demand of D. *Alablaſter*, whether this be true or not. Nor yet whether this be all the anſwere he had of D. *Bancroft*. That I affirme, that if it were, yet it followes not, that D. *Bancroft ſilently granted they had no orders of biſhops.* Vnleſſe he that in a falſe diſcourſe, both where propoſitions be vntrue, denies the Maior, doth ſilently grant the Minor. Rather he ieſted at the futilitie of this Argument, which admitting all this lying Legend of the Nags-head, and more to, ſuppoſe *no ordination by any Biſhops had beene euer effected*, notwithſtanding ſhewes no ſufficient reaſon why there might not be a true conſecration, and true Miniſters made, and conſequently a true Church in England. For indeed neceſſitie diſpences with Gods owne poſitiue Lawes, as our Sauiour ſhewes in the Goſpel much more then with mans: and ſuch by *Hieromes* opinion are the Lawes of the Church, touching the difference of Biſhops and Presbyters, and conſequently touching their ordination by Biſhops onely. Whereof I haue treated more at large in another place, for the iuſtification of other reformed *Mark. 2. 25.*

Churches, albeit the Church of England needs it not. To confirme this Argument, it pleaſeth *F. Halywood* to adde, *That King Edward the Sixth, tooke away the Catholike rite of ordaining, and in ſtead of it, ſubſtituted a few Caluiniſticall prayers.* Whom Queene *Elizabeth* followed, &c. And this is in effect the ſame thing which you ſay, when you adde, *that Couerdale being made Biſhop of Exceter in King Edwards time, when all Councells and Church Canons were little obſerued, it is very doubtfull hee was neuer himſelfe canonically conſecrated, and ſo if hee were no canonicall Biſhop, hee could not make another canonicall.* To *F. Halywood* I would anſwere, that King *Edward* tooke not away the Catholike rite of ordaining, but purged it from a number of idle and ſuperſtitious rites preſcribed by the Popiſh Pontifical. And the praiers which he ſcoffes at if they were Caluiniſticall, ſure *it was by prophecie*, for *Caluin* neuer ſaw them till Queene *Maries* time; when by certaine of our Engliſh exiles, the Booke of Common Prayer was tranſlated and ſhewed him; if he ſaw them then. Some of them, as the *Letany*, and the Hymne *Veni Creator*, *&c.* I hope were none of *Caluins* deuiſing. To you, if you name what Councells and Church Canons you meane, and make any certaine exception, either againſt Biſhop *Couerdale*, or any of the reſt as not canonicall Biſhops, I will endeauour to ſatisfie you. Meane while remember I beſeech you, that both Law, and reaſon, and Religion ſhould induce you in doubtfull things to follow the moſt fauourable ſentence, and not raſhly out of light ſurmiſes to pronounce againſt a publike and ſolemne ordination, againſt the Orders conferred ſucceſſiuely from it, againſt a whole Church. Wherein I cannot but commend Doctor *Carriers* modeſtie, whoſe words are theſe. *I will not determine againſt the ſucceſſion of the Clergie in England, becauſe it is to mee very doubtfull.* And the diſcretion of *Cudſemius* the Ieſuite, which denies the *Engliſh Nation to be Heretickes, becauſe they remaine in a perpetuall ſucceſſion of Biſhops.* And to take

Pag. 7.

De deſperata Caluini cauſa. §. 11.

away

away all doubt from you, that *ſome of theſe Ordayners were onely Biſhops elect, and vnconſecrated*; beſides *Miles Couerdale*, in King *Edwards* time Biſhop of Exceter, caſt in priſon by Queene *Mary*, and releaſed and ſent ouer Sea to the King of Denmarke, know that *William Barlow* was another; in King *Edwards* dayes Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wellet*, in Queene *Maries* beyond the Seas in the companie of the *Ducheſſe of Suffolke* and Maſter *Bertie* her husband; at the time of Doctor *Parkers* ordination Elect of *Chicheſter*. A third was, *Iohn Scorie*, in King *Edwards* time Biſhop of Chicheſter, and at the time of the ſaid ordination *Elect of Hereford*. A fourth was *Iohn Hodgeskin, Suffragan of Bedford*. And theſe foure, if they were all ordained according to the forme ratified in King *Edwards* dayes, were preſented by two Biſhops at leaſt to the Archbiſhop, and of him and them receiued impoſition of hands, as in the ſaid forme is appointed.

One ſcruple yet remaines which you haue, in *that theſe men did conſecrate Doctor* Parker *by vertue of a Breue from the Queene, as head of the Church who being no true head, and a woman, you ſee not how they could make a true conſecration grounded on her authoritie.* But to cleare you in this alſo, you muſt vnderſtand the *Queenes mandate* ſerued not to giue power to ordaine (which thoſe Biſhops had before intrinſecally annexed to their office) but leaue and warrant to apply that power to the perſon named in that Mandate. A thing, vnleſſe I haue beene deceiued by reports, vſed in other Countries, yea in the Kingdomes of his Catholike Maieſtie himſelfe. Sure I am by the Chriſtian Emperours in the primitiue Church, as you may ſee in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories, and namely, in the ordination of *Nectarius*, that I ſpake of before. Yea, which is more in the conſecration of the Biſhops of Rome, as of *Leo* VIII. whoſe Decree, with the *Synode* at Rome touching this matter, is ſet downe by *Gratian, Diſt. 63. c. 23.* taken from the example of *Hadrian*, and another Councell which gaue to

Charles the Great, *Ius & poteſtatem eligendi Pontificem, & ordinandi Apoſtolicam ſedem*, as you may ſee in the Chapter next before. See the ſame *Diſt. c.* 16. & 17. & 18. and you ſhall finde, that when one was choſen Biſhop of Reate, within the Popes owne Prouince, by the Clergie and people, and ſent to him by *Guido* the Count to be conſecrated, the Pope durſt not doe it till the Emperours licence were obtained. Yea, that hee writes to the Emperour for Colonus, *that receiuing his licence hee might conſecrate him either there, or in the Church of Tuſculum*, which accordingly vpon the Emperors bidding he performed.

C. Lectis.

C. Reatina.

C. Nobis.

Yet another exception you take, to the making our Miniſters, that *wee keepe not the right intention.* Firſt, *becauſe we neither giue nor take Orders as a Sacrament.* By that reaſon we ſhould haue no true marriages amongſt vs neither, becauſe we count not Matrimonie a Sacrament. This Controuerſie depends vpon the *definition of a Sacrament*, which if it be put to be *a ſigne of a holy thing*, theſe be both ſo, and a many more then ſeuen. If *a ſeale of the New Teſtament*, ſo are there but thoſe two, which we properly call Sacraments; *Baptiſme*, and the *Lords Supper.* In which laſt, as to *the intention of ſacrificing*, ſurely, if yee allow the doctrine of the Maſter of the Sentences, that *it is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, which is offered and conſecrated by the Prieſt, becauſe it is a memorie and repreſentation of the true Sacrifice and holy immolation made on the Altar of the Croſſe.* And, that *Chriſt once dyed on the Croſſe, and there was offered vp in himſelfe, but is daily offered vp in a Sacrament*, becauſe *in the Sacrament there is a remembrance of that which was once done*; which he there confirmes by the authorities of the Fathers, cited by *Gratian* in the Canon Law. If this Doctrine, I ſay, may yet paſſe for good, and this bee the *Churches intention*, wee want not this intention of ſacrificing. Adde to this the confeſſion of *Melchior Canus*, who ſaith, the *Lutherans doe not wholly denie the ſacrifice, but grant a Sacrifice of thanksgiuing, which they call the* * *Euchariſt:*

Lib. 4. diſt. 12.

De Conſecrat. diſt. 2.

Loc. Theo. lib. 12. cap. 12.

* *f. Euchariſticum.*

they

they will haue none for ſinne which they call propitiatorie. If he had put hereto, *vnleſſe it bee in a myſterie*, hee had rightly expreſſed the opinion of the Proteſtants.

Thirdly yee obiect, wee *want the matter and forme with which orders ſhould be giuen: namely, for the matter in Prieſthood the deliuerie of the Patena with bread, and the Chalice with wine: in Deaconſhip the deliuerie of the booke of the Goſpell, &c.* By which reaſon the ſeuen firſt Deacons had no true ordination, for then there was no Goſpell written to be deliuered them. Nor thoſe Prieſts whom the Pope ſhall make by his ſole word, ſaying, *Eſto Sacerdos.* Whom notwithſtanding ſundrie famous Canoniſts hold to bee well and lawfully ordained; and *Innocentius* himſelfe ſaith, that if theſe formes of Ordination were not found out, any other Ordainer might in like manner make Prieſts, with thoſe words, or the like: for as much as theſe formes were in proceſſe of time appointed by the Church. And if wee liſt to ſeeke for theſe Metaphyſicall notions *of matter and forme*, in Ordination, which at the moſt can bee but by *Analogie*, how much better might wee aſſigne the perſons deputed to ſacred functions to be the matter (as thoſe that contract are by your ſelues made the matter in matrimonie) and the impoſing of hands, with the expreſſing the authoritie and office giuen to bee the forme? In *Dionyſius* though falſly called the *Areopagite*, yet an ancient Author, yee ſhall finde nothing elſe; nor which I may tell you by the way, any other orders, ſaue Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.

And to come to that wherein you ſay wee faile moſt of all, *the ſubſtantiall forme of Prieſthood*, tell mee ingenuouſly, good Maſter *Wadeſworth*, how doe you know that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt made his Apoſtles, or they others Prieſts with this forme, which hath no mention or footſtep in the Goſpell, or otherwhere in holy Scripture! Nor ſo much as in the *Councell of Carthage*; that from whence the manner of giuing other orders is fetched, nor in *Gratian*, nor in a-

ny,

ny other ancient Author that I can finde, ſaue in the *Pontificall* onely. And is the preſent Pontificall of ſuch authoritie with you, as the *forme of Prieſthood*, the *ſubſtantiall forme*, can ſubſiſt in no other wordes then thoſe that bee there expreſſed? To omit the late turkeſing whereof, conſider what *Auguſtinus Patritius* writes in his Preface before that which at *Pope Innocent VIII.* his commandement he patched together: *That there were ſcarce two or three bookes found that deliuered the ſame thing: Quot libri tot varietates. Ille deficit, hic ſuperabundat, alius nihil omnino de eâ re habet, raro aut nunquam conueniunt; ſæpe obſcuri, implicati, & librariorum vitio plerunq; mendoſi.* And in truth in this your *eſſentiall forme of Prieſthood*, the old Pontificals before that which he ſet forth, either had other words at the giuing of the Chalice and Paten as may ſeeme; or wanted both that forme and the matter alſo together. The *Maſter of the Sentences* declaring the manner of the Ordination of Prieſts, and the reaſon why they haue the Chalice with wine, and Paten with hoſts giuen vnto them, ſaith it is, *Vt per hoc ſciant ſe accepiſſe poteſtatem placabiles Deo hoſtias offerendi.* *Hugo* in like manner, *Accipiunt & Calicem cum vino, & Patenam cum hoſtia de manu Epiſcopi, quatenus poteſtatem ſe accepiſſe cognoſcant, placabiles Deo hoſtias offerendi.* *Stephanus Eduenſis Epiſcopus*, in the ſame wordes: *Datur eis Calix cum vino, & Patena cum hoſtia, in quo traditur iis poteſtas ad offerendum Deo placabiles hoſtias.* So *Iohannes Ianuenſis* in his Summe, intituled, *Catholicon*, verbo *Presbyter.* If yee aſcend to the higher times of *Rabanus*, *Alcuinus*, *Iſidorus*, you ſhall finde that they mention no ſuch matter, of deliuering Chalice or Paten, or wordes vſed at the deliuerie; and no maruell, for in the Canons of the *fourth Councel of Carthage* they found none. *Dionyſius* falſly called *Areopagita*, whom I mentioned before, ſetting downe the manner of ordaining in his time. *The Prieſt vpon both his knees before the Altar with the Biſhops right hand vpon his head, is on this manner ſanctified by his*

his Conſecrater with holy inuocations. Here is all, ſaue that he ſaith, after he hath deſcribed that alſo which pertaines vnto the Deacon, that *euery one of them is ſigned with the croſſe when the Biſhop bleſſeth them, and proclaimed, and ſaluted by the Conſecrator himſelfe and euery one of that ſacred Order that is preſent.* The Greeke Scholiaſt very liuely ſhewes the meaning and manner of this proclaiming. Hee ſaith, *The Ordayner pronounceth by name when hee ſigneth him,* σφραγίζει ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρου εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ διακόνου. *Such a man is conſecrated from being Presbyter to be a Biſhop in the name of the father, &c. and ſo in the Presbyter and Deacon. Clemens Romanus* (if *F. Turrian* and the reſt of the Romiſh faction deceiue vs not, or be not deceiued themſelues, in attributing to him the eight bookes of the Apoſtolike Conſtitutions that beare his name) cuts the matter yet more ſhort, and without either croſſing or proclaiming, appoints the *Biſhop to lay his hands vpon him, in the preſence of the Presbyterie and the Deacons, vſing a Prayer*, which you may ſee at length in him; for *the increaſe of the Church, and of the number of them that by word and worke may edifie it: for the partie elected vnto the office of Prieſthood, that being filled with the operations of healings, and word of Doctrine, he may inſtruct Gods people with meekneſſe and ſerue him ſincerely with a pure minde, and willing heart, and performe holy ſeruices without ſpot for his people through his Chriſt, to whom &c.* Theſe laſt words which are in the Greeke, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίας ἀμώμους εὑρεθῆναι διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου. *Carolus Bouius* Biſhop of *Oſtuna* interprets, *& ſacrificia pro populo tuo immaculata perficiat.* Maruell that he added not, *tam pro viuis quam pro defunctis.* Sure if Saint *Paul, Rom.* 15. 16. had not added the word διαγγελίαν, hee had *ſacrificed* alſo. This was the ancient and Apoſtolike manner of ordination, if the Author be worthy of credit. But that ye may perceiue what tampering there hath beene to bring ordinations to the forme

which the preſent Pontificall preſcribes, conſider with me the words of *Amalarius Biſhop of Triers* in his ſecond Booke *de Eccleſiaſt. Officys*, where in the office of the Subdeacon thus hee writes; *Miror quâ de re ſumptus vſus in Eccleſia, &c. I maruell whence the vſe was taken in our Church, that very often the Subdeacon ſhould reade the Leſſon at Maſſe, ſince this is not found committed vnto him, by the Miniſtry giuen him in conſecration, nor by the Canonicall writings, nor by his name.* And ſtraight after, *Nam primaro tempore; For in ancient time the Deacon read not the Goſpell which was not yet written; but after it was enacted by our Fathers, that the Deacons ſhould reade the Goſpell, they appointed alſo that the Subdeacon ſhould reade the Epiſtle or Leſſon.* It appeares, then that in *Amalarius* time, who liued with *Charles* the great and *Lewes* his Sonne, that ridiculous forme was not in the Pontificall, where the Booke of the Epiſtles is giuen to the Subdeacons, and power *to reade them in the holy Church of God, as well for the quicke as the dead.* The *ſame Author* comming to ſpeake of Deacons, telleth of their conſecration by praier, and impoſition of hands, & confuteth that in the preſent Pontificall (which he ſaith he found in a little Booke of holy Orders) made he knowes not by what Author, *that the Biſhop alone ſhould lay hands on the Deacon.* At laſt he addes, *There is one Miniſtrie added to the Deacon*, viz. *to reade the Goſpell*, which he ſaith, *doth well befit him, quia Miniſter eſt.* But of the deliuerie of the Booke of the Goſpels, with authoritie to reade the Goſpell for the quicke and dead, not one word. In the next Chapter of Presbyters hee expounds their name, and ſaith further, *hunc morem tenent Epiſcopi noſtri.* Our Biſhoppes haue this faſhion, *they annoint the hands of Preſbyters with oyle*, which ceremonie he declares; touching impoſition of hands vpon them, he remits vs to that he ſaid before in the Deacon. Then he ſhewes out of *Ambroſe*, and *Hierome*, *that theſe are all one Order with Biſhops, and ought to gouerne the Church in common, like Moſes with*

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the ſeuentie Elders: as for deliuerie of Chalice and Wine, or Patten and Hoſt, with power to ſacrifice ſo well for the quicke as the dead, he makes no mention. Iudge you whether theſe were thought to be the *matter* and *eſſentiall* forme of Prieſthood in his time. Yet one Author more wil I name in this matter, not onely becauſe hee is a famous Schooleman, and one of *Luthers* firſt aduerſaries, and therefore ought to be of more account with that ſide, but becauſe he profeſſeth the end of his writing to be, *circa Sacramentum ordinis cautos reddere, ne pertinax quiſquam aut lenis ſit circa modum tradendi aut recipiendi ordines.* It is Cardinall *Caietane*, in the ſecond Tome of his *Opuſcula*, Tit. *De modo tradendi ſeu recipiendi Ordines.* Reade the whole where theſe things I obſerue for our preſent purpoſe. 1. *If all be gathered together which the Pontificals, or which reaſon or authoritie hath deliuered, the nature of all the reſt of the orders except Prieſthood onely, will appeare very vncertaine.* 2. *The leſſer Orders and Subdeaconſhip according to the Maſter of the Sentences, were inſtituted by the Church.* 3. *The Deacons inſtituted by the Apoſtles, Act. 6. were not Deacons of the Altar, but of the Tables & Widdowes.* 4. *In Deaconſhip there ſeemes to be no certain forme for according to the old Pontificals, the laying of hands vpon the Deacon hath no certaine forme of words, but that prayer.* Emitte quæſumus in eos S. Sanctum: *which according to the new Pontificals is to be ſaid after the impoſition of hands. For the giuing of the Booke of the Goſpels, hath indeede a forme of words, but that impreſſeth not the Character, for before any Goſpell was written, the Apoſtles ordained Deacons by impoſition of hands.* 5. *In the Subdeaconſhip alſo there is no Pontificall which hath not the matter without forme,* viz. *the deliuery of the emptie Chalice, &c.* Theſe things with more which hee there ſets downe *he would haue to ſerue to the inſtruction of the learned touching the vncertaintie of this whole matter, to teach men to be wiſe to ſobrietie, that is, euery man to be content with the accuſtomed*

Pontificall of the Church wherein he is ordained. And if ought be omitted of those things which be added out of the new Pontificals, as for example, that the Booke of the Epistles was not giuen, with those words (Take authoritie to reade the Epistles as well for the quicke as the dead) there is no neede of supplying this omission by a new ordination, for such new additions make no new law. Learne then of your owne *Caietane*, that the new additions *of deliuery of the Chalice with wine, and Paten with Hosts, and authoritie* to *offer sacrifice for the quick and dead make no new Law.* Learn to be content with the Pontificall of the Church, wherein you were ordained. Wherein first is *verbatim* all that which your Pontificals had well taken out of the holy words of our Sauiour, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum quorum remiseris peccata remittuntur eis & quorum retinueris retenta sunt.* Which me thinkes you should rather account to containe the essentiall forme of Priesthood then the former, both because they are Christs owne words, and ioyned with that ceremonie of *laying on hands*, which anciently denominated this whole action, and do expresse the worthiest and *principallest part of your Commission*, which the Apostle calls the *Ministry of reconciliation*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 18. 19. Then, because this office is not onely deputed to consecrate the Lords body, but also to preach & baptize (which in your Pontificall is wholly omitted) in a larger, and more conuenient forme, is added out of Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 1. *and be thou a faithfull dispenser of the word of God and of his holy Sacraments. In the name of the Father, &c.*

As to that you adde, that *we offer no sacrifice for the quicke and dead*, and therefore well *may be called Ministers, as all lay men are, but are no Priests.* I haue met with sundry that pull this roape as strongly the other way, and affirme that *because by the very forme of your ordination you are appointed Sacrificers for the quicke and dead, well may ye be Masse-Priests as ye are called, but Ministers of the New Testament, after S.* Pauls *phrase ye are none.* For that office stands principally

cipally in *preaching the word*, whereof in your ordination there is no word ſaid. And as little there is in Scripture of your ſacrifice, which makes Chriſt not to be a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedech*, *&c.* with much more to this purpoſe. Where my defence for your Miniſtrie hath beene this, that the forme *Receiue the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes ye remit they are remitted, &c.* doth ſufficiently comprehend the authoritie of preaching the Goſpell. Vſe you the ſame equitie toward vs, and tell thoſe hot ſpirits among you, that ſtand ſo much vpon formalities of words, that *to be a diſpenſer of the word of God and his holy Sacraments*, is all the dutie of *Prieſthood*. And to you I adde further, that if you conſider well the words of the Maſter of the Sentences which I vouched before, how *that which is conſecrated of the Prieſt is called a Sacrifice and oblation, becauſe it is a memoriall and repreſentation of the true ſacrifice and holy offering made on the altar of the Croſſe*, Heb. 10. 14. and ioyne there to that of the Apoſtle, that *by that one offering Chriſt hath perfected for euer them that are ſanctified*, and as he ſaith in another place, *through that bloud of his Croſſe reconciled vnto God all things whether in earth or in heauen*; you ſhall perceiue, that we do offer ſacrifice for the quick and dead, remembring, repreſenting & myſtically offering that ſole Sacrifice for the quicke and dead, by the which all their ſins are meritoriouſly expiated, and deſiring that by the ſame, *we and all the Church may obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes, and all other benefits of Chriſts paſſion.*

To the *Epilogue* therefore of this your laſt motiue, I ſay in ſhort. Sith we haue no neede of *Subdeaconſhip*, more then the Churches in the Apoſtles times, & in truth thoſe whom we call *Clerkes* and *Sextens* performe what is neceſſarie in this behalfe. Sith we haue *Canonicall* Biſhops, and *lawfull ſucceſſion*. Sith we neither want *due intention* to depute men to Eccleſiaſticall functions, nor *matter or forme in giuing Prieſthood*; deriuing from no man or woman the *authoritie of ordination*, but from *Chriſt* the head of

he Church; yee haue alleadged no ſufficient cauſe, why we ſhould not haue true *Paſtors*, and conſequently a true *Church* in England.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Concluſion. Maſter Waddeſworths *agonies and proteſtation, &c.*

YEt *by theſe* (you ſay) *and many other arguments, you were reſolued in your vnderſtanding, to the contrary.* It may well be that your vnderſtanding out of it owne heedleſſe haſte, as that of our firſt Parents while it was at the perfecteſt was inducted into errour, by reſoluing too ſoone out of ſeeming arguments, and granting too forward aſſent. For ſurely, theſe which you haue mentioned, could not conuince it, if it would haue taken the paines to examine them throughly, or had the patience to giue vnpartiall hearing to the motiues on the other ſide. But as if you triumphed in your owne conqueſt, and captiuitie, you adde that which paſſeth yet all that hitherto you haue ſet downe, *viz. That the Church of Rome was and is the onely true Church, becauſe it alone is Ancient, Catholike, and Apoſtolike, hauing ſucceſſion, vnitie, and viſibilitie in all ages, and places.* Is it *onely ancient?* To omit *Hieruſalem*, are not that of *Antioch*, where the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians, and *Alexandria*, *Epheſus*, *Corinth*, and the reſt mentioned in the Scriptures ancient alſo? and of *Antioch* ancienter then Rome. Is it *Catholike and Apoſtolike onely?* Doe not theſe and manie more hold the Catholike faith receiued from the Apoſtles, as well as the Church of Rome? For that it ſhould be the *Vniuerſall Church*, is all one as yee would ſay the part is the whole, one Citie the world. Hath it *onely ſucceſſion?* where to ſet aſide the inquirie of Doctrine, ſo manie Simoniacks, and intruders haue

haue ruled, as about fiftie of your Popes together, were by your owne mens confeſſion *Apoſtaticall*, rather then *Apoſtolicall*? Or Vnitie, where there haue beene thirtie Schiſmes, and one of them which endured fiftie yeares long, and at laſt grew into three heads, as if they would ſhare among them the triple Crowne? And as for diſſentions in Doctrine, I remit you to *Maſter Doctor Halls peace of Rome*, wherein hee ſcores aboue three hundred mentioned in *Bellarmine* alone; aboue threeſcore in one onely head of Penance out of *Nauarrus*. As to that addition, *in all ages and places*; I know not what to make of it, nor whereto to refer it. Conſider, I beſeech you, with your wonted moderation what you ſay, for ſure vnleſſe you were beguiled, I had almoſt ſaid bewitched, you could neuer haue reſolued to beleeue and profeſſe, that which all the world knowes to be as falſe, I had (welnigh) ſaid as God is true, touching the *extent of the Romiſh Church to all ages and places*.

Concerning the *agonies you paſſed*, I will ſay onely thus much, if being reſolued though erroniouſly that was truth, you were withholden from profeſſing it with worldly reſpects, you did well to breake through them all. But if beſides theſe, there were doubt of the contrarie (as me thinks needes muſt be) vnleſſe you could ſatisfie your ſelfe touching thoſe many and knowne exceptions againſt the Court of Rome, which you could not be ignorant of) take heede, leſt *the reſt inſuing* theſe agonies were not like *Sampſons* ſleeping on *Dalilahs* knees, while the locks of his ſtrength were ſhauen, whereupon (the Lord departing from him) he was taken by the *Philiſtims*, had his eyes put out, and was made to grinde in the priſon. But I doe not deſpaire, but your former reſolutions ſhall grow againe. And as I doe beleeue your religious aſſeueration, that *for very feare of damnation* you forſooke vs (which makes mee to haue the better hope and opinion of you, for that I ſee you doe ſo ſeriouſly minde that which is the end of our whole

life;) so I desire from my heart *the good hope of saluation you haue* in your present way may be as happie, as your feare I am perswaded was causeleſſe.

For my part, I call God to record againſt mine owne ſoule, that both before my going into *Italie*, and ſince, I haue ſtill endeauoured to finde and follow the truth in the points controuerted betweene vs, without any earthly reſpect in the world. Neither wanted I faire opportunitie had I ſeene it on that ſide, eaſily, and with hope of good entertainment to haue adioyned my ſelfe to the Church of Rome, after your example. But (to vſe your words) *as I ſhall anſwere at the dreadfull day of iudgement, I neuer ſaw, heard, or read any thing, which did conuince me: nay, which did not finally confirme me daily more and more, in the perſwaſion, that in theſe differences it reſts on our part.* Wherein I haue not followed *humane coniectures from forraine and outward things* (as by your leaue mee thinkes you doe in theſe your motiues, wherby I proteſt to you in the ſight of God, I am alſo much comforted and aſſured in the poſſeſſion of the truth) but *the vndoubted voice of God in his word*, which is more to my conſcience then a thouſand *Topicall* Arguments. In regard whereof I am no leſſe aſſured, that if I ſhould forſake it I ſhould be renounced by our Sauiour, before God and his Angels, then in the holding it be acknowledged and ſaued; which makes me reſolue, not *onely for no hope of it were of* 10000. *worlds, but by the gracious aſſiſtance of God, without whom I know I am able to doe nothing, for no terrour or torment euer to become a Papiſt.*

You ſee what a large diſtance there is betweene vs in opinion. Yet for my part, I doe not take vpon me to foreiudge you, or any other that doth not with an euill minde and ſelfe-condemning conſcience onely to maintaine a faction, differ from that which I am perſwaded is the right. I account we hold one and the ſame faith in our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and by him in the bleſſed Trinitie. To his iudgement we ſtand or fall. Incomparably more and

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of more importance are thoſe things wherein wee agree; then thoſe wherin we diſſent. Let vs follow therefore the things of peace, and of mutuall edification. If any be otherwiſe minded then he ought, God ſhall reueale that alſo to him. If any be weake or fallen, God is able to raiſe him vp. And of you good M. *Waddeſworth*, and the reſt of my Maſters and Brethren of that ſide, one thing I would againe deſire, that according to the Apoſtles profeſſion of himſelfe, you would forbeare *to be Lords ouer our Faith*, nor ſtraightway condemne of hereſie, our ignorance or lacke of perſwaſion concerning ſuch things as wee cannot perceiue to be founded in holy Scripture. Enioy your owne opinions; but make them not *Articles* of our Faith: the analogie whereof is broken as well by addition as ſubtraction. And this ſelfe ſame equitie we deſire to find in poſitiue Lawes, Orders, and Ceremonies. Wherein as euerie Church hath full right to preſcribe that which is decent and to edification, and to reforme abuſe; ſo thoſe that are members of each are to follow what is enioyned, till by the ſame authoritie it be reuerſed. 2 Cor. 1. 24.

And now to cloſe vp this *Account of yours*, whereof *you would haue Doctor Hall* and me to be as it were *examiners and Auditors*. Whether it be perfect and allowable or no, looke you to it. I haue here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainely, and freely as I can; and as you required *fully*, if not tediouſly. I liſt not to contend with you about it. Satisfie your owne conſcience, and our common Lord and Maſter, and you ſhall eaſily ſatisfie me. Once yet by my aduice review it, and caſt it ouer againe. And if in the particulars you finde you haue taken manie *nullities for ſignifying numbers*, manie *ſmaller* ſignifiers for *greater*; correct the *totall*. If you finde namely that out of deſire of *Vnitie*, and diſlike of contention, you haue apprehended our *diuerſities* to be more then they are: conceiued a neceſſitie of *an externall infallible Iudge*, where there was none: attributed the *priuiledge of the Church properly called*, to that

which is *visible and mixt*. If you finde the reformed Churches more charitable, the proper note of Chists sheepe: The Roman faction more *fraudulent*, and that *by publike counsell, and of politicke purpose*, in framing not onely all later writers, but some ancient, yea the holy Scriptures for their aduantage: If you finde you haue mistaken the Protestants doctrine *touching inuisibilitie*, your own also touching *vniformitie* in matters of Faith: If you haue beene misinformed and too hastie, of credit touching the *imputations laid to the beginners of reformation:* For as touching the *want of Succession* and the *fabulous Ordination at the Nags head*, I hope you will not be stiffe, and persist in your errour, but confesse and condemne it in your selfe: If (as I began to say) you finde these things to be thus; giue glorie to God, that hath heard your praier, entreating *direction in his holy truth; and withhold not that truth of his in vnrighteousnesse*. Vnto him that is able to restore and establish you, yea to consummate and perfect you according to his almightie power and vnspeakeable goodnesse, toward his elect in Christ Iesus, I doe from my heart commend you: and rest you,

Your very louing brother

in Christ Iesu,

W. BEDELL.

FINIS.

Faults eſcaped.

PAge 3. *line* 30. *for* them *reade* him. *p.6.l* 17. *for* VI. *r.* I V. *p.7.l.4. for* come *r.* came. *p.33. l.19. for* whereby *r.* whereof. *p.49.l.36. for* them *r.* thee. *p.54.l.35. for* Court *r.* courſe. *p.55.l.4.* for *tate.* b *Eccl.* r. *tate Eccleſiaſt. p.63.l.14.* for *humorum* r. *humerum. p.64.l.7. for* you *r.* th ee. *p.65. l8. for* To prooue *r.* ¶. To prooue. *p.78.l.31.* ſide, one *r.* ſide one, *p.* 82. *l3. for* Theſe *r.* Thoſe. *p.83. l1. for* to all *r.* to take all. *p.85.l.36. for* report *r.* reports. *p.87.l.24. for* adiure *r.* abiure. *p.90.l.32. for* word *r.* ſword. *p.97.l.15. for* the ſtate *r.* that State. *l.3. for* Gratian, neither *r.* Gratian neither, *ibid. l.* 1. *for* force *r.* farce. *p.103. l.32.* for *ſernone* r. *ſermone. p.108.l.1 for* הרא For. *r.* הרא *hiu.* For. *p.109. l.13. for* Biſhops *r.* Biſhop. *p.112.l.4. for* greateſt ſhewes, *r.* greateſt, ſhewes another. *p.114. l.16. for* iuſt or *r.* iuſter. *ibid. l.* 13. for *mæchis* r. *mæchiæ. p.116.l.13. for* But the *r.* But that. *ibid. l.26. for* Such. *r.* ¶. Such. *p.118. l.72. for wherein-frequent r.* wherein-frequent. *p.* 119. *l.* for *Com.* 1. r. *Couc.* 1. *p.120.l.13. for* groſſer, yet *r.* groſſer yet, *ibid. l.19. for* and in this *r.* and this. *p.130.l.10. for* affaires, in *Italy r.* affaires in *Italy, p.135.l.1. for* a ubiects *r.* aſſubiect. *p.147. l.22. for* both where *r.* where both. *p.148. l.* 19. *for* Letany *r.* Litany. *p.151. l.33. for* Goſpell *r.* Goſpels. *p.154.l.9.* for *primaro r. primæro.*